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FOCUS

The monthly newsletter of the Joint Center for Political Studies

Incomes for Black Families Continue to Rise

But President Reagan Is Wrong: They Were Higher in the 1970s

The New Black Middle Class (Part II)

Due to Economic Vulnerability and Racial Bias,
the American Dream Is Tarnished for Many

JCPS Roster of Black Elected Officials, 1987

POLITICAL TRENDLETTER

Perspective

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Project 1993: A Five-Year Plan for Political Empowerment

Over the next five years—between 1988 and 1993—a number of critical political developments will take place that will shape the nation's domestic and foreign policy agendas well into the 21st century. Taken together, these developments will be like a powerful locomotive about to leave the station. If blacks don't get aboard and help steer its course, they're likely to be left behind or dropped at the wrong station.

What are these powerful political developments about to take place during the next five years that will have such crucial implications for black Americans? Two of them, of course, are presidential elections—in 1988 and 1992. A third is the important state and local elections that will be held in the intervening years. Another major event for us to keep our eyes on is the decennial census which occurs in 1990. We must make sure there is a fair count. The census not only determines the kinds of governmental resources that come into our communities, it also leads to redistricting and reapportionment, both of which influence the extent of our political clout. And, of course, the more blacks are counted, the better their chances of deciding where legislative seats will be created and where they will be abolished.

Now is the time to plan, to strategize, to look ahead to political targets of opportunity. There are many strategies that blacks might follow, but the most fundamental ones, those that have stood the test of time, are: increasing black voter registration and turnout; electing more blacks to office; and electing white candidates who will vigorously support black objectives. These three strategies are the bedrock of political empowerment.

A strategic, five-year plan (should we call it Project 1993?) for black political empowerment between 1988 and 1993 will require a number of major commitments: raising money; identifying good candidates; conducting research and political analyses; developing policy issues; holding candidate forums; and encouraging blacks to participate in the 1990 census and to monitor reapportionment schemes in 1992. Raising money is central to the success of all of these efforts.

By now it should be a foregone conclusion that political empowerment is neither free nor cheap. Manpower and money will be required to increase voter education and registration through programs like the National Coalition on Black Voter Participation and through civil rights, fraternal, and other organizations. Extensive research needs to be conducted to guide decisions about which elections to target and how legislative boundaries should be drawn. And, in some cases, blacks will have to pay for lawsuits to challenge discriminatory redistricting plans.

In 1993, we will mark the 20th anniversary of the historic march on Washington and the 25th anniversary of the assassination of Martin Luther King, Jr. What a great tribute it would be to mark these two historic occasions with a demonstrable increase in black political power.

Eddie N. Williams

PRESIDENT

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The Fifth National Policy Institute

Conference Kicks Off the Presidential Election Year, Underscores Black Political Clout

When the Fifth National Policy Institute convenes in Washington next January, black political leaders will have one eye fixed on the 1988 presidential election and the other eye focused on the 21st century. The Institute, scheduled for January 20-23, will give officials a unique opportunity to develop strategies and coalitions to pursue their policy interests during the next two decades.

Planning ahead will be critical. As we approach the end of this century, over 80 percent of all new entrants into the work force will be women, immigrants, and native-born nonwhites— groups that have not been favored up to now in the work force or in the educational system. Moreover, by the year 2080, nonwhites will comprise 26 percent of the entire national population. Given these demographic changes and the anticipated political pressures to assure the nation's economic stability and national security, we can anticipate the need to take a harder and more responsive look at issues like poverty, poor education, and declining government resources as we seek to enhance our international competitiveness.

To the extent that black Americans are part of this problem, they will be urged to help seek solutions to it. Thus, the Fifth National Policy Institute will not only give black political leaders a chance to flex their muscles, it will also give them an opportunity to fix their sights on future public policy objectives.

More than 1000 officials will gather in Washington next year to participate in the most comprehensive national, non-partisan, educational conference of its kind. Occurring in advance of the Iowa Caucuses and the New Hampshire and "Super Tuesday" primaries, the Institute's timing could not be more propitious. Black officials will get a head start in developing strategies to address many of the issues facing the black community and the nation.

Coretta Scott King described the challenge this way:

> In many ways black America faces crises of unparalleled dimensions. Unless we stand up and demand justice, equality, and opportunities, the clock will be rolled back even further on some of the important economic, political, and social gains we fought so hard to achieve. The Fifth National Policy Institute will place black public officials in the forefront of the movement to shape our future.

Black political leadership is growing. In the U.S. House of Representatives, 5 blacks chair full committees and 18 chair subcommittees. Five of the nation's 10 largest cities are headed by black mayors. The number of black elected officials has increased from 1,469 in 1970 to 6,681 in 1987 (see *JCPS Roster of Black Elected Officials, 1987, p. 5*). The influence of black voters is growing in federal, state, and local elections.

Sponsors of the Fifth National Policy Institute

- The Congressional Black Caucus
- The Joint Center for Political Studies
- The Judicial Council of the National Bar Association
- The National Association of Black County Officials
- The National Black Caucus of Local Elected Officials
- The National Black Caucus of State Legislators
- The National Caucus of Black School Board Members
- The National Conference of Black Mayors

The U.S. Senate's anticipated rejection of Judge Robert Bork's nomination to the U.S. Supreme Court is partially explained in terms of growing black political clout, especially in the South. In 1986, black voters helped to return the Democratic party to control of the Senate by providing the margin of victory for a half dozen or so southern Democrats, all of whom opposed the Bork nomination.

The black vote will be as critical an element in the 1988 presidential selection process. The Institute will develop a policy blueprint for black political participation.

Workshops have been scheduled on the following topics:

- Governmental Initiative and Individual Responsibilities
- Black Philanthropy: The Legacy Continues
- The Underclass: Reality or Myth?
- The Census/Reapportionment
- AIDS and the Black Community
- Hazardous Waste—The Silent Killer
- Increasing Opportunities for Minority Businesses
- The Low-Income Housing Crisis: Can Solutions Be Structured?
- Job Creation: Which Strategies Work in the Black Community?
- The Plight of the Black Elderly
- Criminal Justice and the Black Community
- Addressing the Needs of Black Rural America
- Teenage Pregnancy Prevention
- International Affairs: We Are the World
- Black Public Officials and the Education Reform Movement
- Substance Abuse: Public Policy Implications
- The 1988 Elections: Implications for Black America
- Public/Private Financing of Government Services

For more information about the Fifth National Policy Institute, write to National Policy Institute, Joint Center for Political Studies, 1301 Pennsylvania Avenue, N.W., Washington, D.C. 20004 or call (202) 626-3500.

Incomes for Black Families Continue to Rise

But President Reagan Is Wrong: They Were Higher in the 1970s

by Margaret C. Simms

In a characteristically up-beat, good-news-only speech to the National Alliance of Business on September 14, 1987, President Ronald Reagan commented on black economic gains in recent years. Black employment, President Reagan said, "has shot forward twice as fast as white employment, . . .the real [inflation-adjusted] income of black families has increased almost 40 percent faster than white family income, and the share of black families in the highest income brackets is up by over 70 percent." Although these claims are accurate, President Reagan makes his economic record look better by excluding data from the first two years of his administration, during which time this nation (and black citizens in particular) suffered the worst economic setbacks since the Great Depression of the 1930s.

The president also approvingly quoted a *Washington Times* columnist's claim that "On every front—jobs, income, household wealth—this, 1981 through 1986, has been the best five economic years in black history." This claim is highly debatable. For instance, data from the July 1987 report of the U.S. Census Bureau *(Money Income and Poverty Status of Families and Persons in the United States: 1986),* show that the median real income (in 1986 dollars) of black families was higher from 1972 through 1976 (above $17,800 each year) and in 1978 ($18,824) than it was in 1986 ($17,604).[1]

In addition, black families fared better, relative to whites, in the early 1970s than at anytime during the Reagan era. In 1970 and in 1975, for instance, black family income was 61.3 percent and 61.5 percent, respectively, of white family income; by contrast, the Reagan-era peak was 57.6 percent in 1985 (equivalent to the low point in the early 1970s).

President Reagan's exaggerated claims aside, the Census Bureau data show that blacks, on average, have benefited from the post-1982 economic recovery and, in fact, that some groups of blacks have done quite well. For instance, a higher percentage of black families (8.8 percent) had over $50,000 in income (in constant 1986 dollars) than at any other time in U.S. history.

Black married-couple families in which the wife worked outside the home continued to make strong gains. These families had the highest median income of all black families ($31,949) in 1986, and their income was 82 percent of the income of similar white families—the highest black-white income ratio for any family type. This relatively high ratio is due to the fact that the earnings gap between black and white women is smaller than the gap between black and white men. Therefore, when a black wife enters paid employment she provides a larger share of total family income than a white wife who is employed. Black wives are also employed at a higher rate than white wives—which explains why income for black married-couple families increased by over 6 percent in real terms between 1985 and 1986. The gains for black married-couple families exceeded those of all other family types during this period.

The data from the Census Bureau (included in the table on this page) show that the median income for all families (whites, blacks, and others) in the United States was $29,460 in 1986—an increase in real income of 4.2 percent since 1985. This was one of the largest annual increases in family income since 1972. Income for all black families increased 2.9 percent in real terms between 1985 and 1986, compared to an increase of 3.7 percent for white families. The black-white median family income ratio of 57.1 percent is not significantly different from the ratio in 1985.

Not all blacks have benefited as a result of the economic expansion, however. The latest data also show that nearly nine million blacks in the United States were in poverty in 1986, representing 28 percent of the

(Continued on page 8)

Median Family Income by Family Type and Employment Status of Householder, by Race, 1986

	All Families		
	White	**Black**	**Black/White Ratio**
All Families	$30,809	$17,604	57.1%
Married Couple	33,426	26,583	79.5
Wife Employed	38,972	31,949	82.0
Wife Not Employed	26,421	16,766	63.5
Male Householder	26,247	18,731	71.4
Female Householder	15,716	9,300	59.2

Source: U.S. Bureau of the Census, *Money Income and Poverty Status of Families and Persons in the United States: 1986,* P-60, No. 157 (Washington, D.C.: U.S. Government Printing Office, 1987).

Dr. Simms, an economist, is deputy director of research at the Joint Center.

[1] For a discussion of the employment and wealth status of blacks, see "Update on the Job Status of Blacks" (*Focus*, April 1987) and "Wealth Data Puts Black-White Gap in Sharp Focus" (*Focus*, August 1986).

JCPS

POLITICAL TRENDLETTER

Inside this Issue

- **Southern black voters, who helped to elect a Democratic majority to the U.S. Senate in 1986, are widely credited with playing a pivotal role in the anticipated defeat of Judge Robert Bork's nomination to the U.S. Supreme Court. These same voters now face another historic challenge: the election of their favorite, Jesse Jackson, in the Super-Tuesday presidential caucuses and primaries in March 1988.**
- **A hot topic among black elected officials is whether they are unfairly being targeted for investigations into alleged corruption; but a Congressional Black Caucus hearing reveals a diversity of opinion among blacks on this question.**
- **Where are they now? *TL* looks at four veteran black leaders who have left the political stage but are still active in civic and political affairs.**
- **Across the nation: in Hartford, Conn., state Senator Carrie Saxon Perry won the Democratic mayoral primary, giving her a chance to become the city's second black and first woman CEO; in the District of Columbia, supporters of statehood face setbacks from the Democratic National Committee and the Congress; in two Illinois cities, blacks have been elected to the city council for the first time in decades, as a result of voting rights act lawsuits; and, in Baltimore, state's attorney Kurt Schmoke won a surprisingly close race to become the city's first elected black mayor.**

Southern Black Voters (I): Senate Blocks Bork

Southern blacks, who helped to elect a Democratic majority to the U.S. Senate last November, got their reward this month when the Senate Judiciary Committee voted nine to five to oppose the nomination of Judge ROBERT BORK to the U.S. Supreme Court. At this writing, Democratic strategists claim to have 54 votes against Bork, a sufficient number to ensure defeat on the Senate floor. Bork's defeat would be a major victory for the forces of civil and human rights, which had been tagged "impotent" earlier in the Reagan administration. **How significant is the fight over Bork's nomination? It is "as important as a presidential election," said RALPH NEAS, executive director of the Leadership Conference on Civil Rights, a lobbying group.** As Rep. JOHN CONYERS (D-Mich.) and others pointed out, the next nominee to the Supreme Court would hold the fifth and decisive vote on a Court that is at present almost evenly split on many key civil rights questions. Clearly, the stakes are enormous and the defeat of Bork would give civil rights groups a victory unmatched since the battle over reauthorizing the Voting Rights Act in 1982.

President Reagan had believed that Bork would be confirmed by an alliance of Republicans and conservative southern Democrats, but the southern Democrats broke ranks and opposed Bork. Why did these southern senators disappoint Reagan? First, and perhaps foremost, according to many political pundits, a growing and unified black electorate in the South was a major factor. According to polls, approximately 7 out of every 10 southern blacks opposed Bork, and many southern senators concluded that Judge Bork, if elevated to the Supreme Court, would disrupt race relations in the region. **Southern Democratic senators who opposed Bork include HOWARD HEFLIN and RICHARD SHELBY of Alabama, DALE BUMPERS and DAVID PRYOR of Arkansas, LAWTON CHILES and BOB GRAHAM of Florida, WYCHE FOWLER of Georgia, WENDELL FORD of Kentucky, BENNET JOHNSTON and JOHN BREAUX of Louisiana, TERRY SANFORD of NORTH**

CAROLINA, JIM SASSER and ALBERT GORE of Tennessee, and LLOYD BENTSEN of Texas. . . . However, at least one Democratic senator elected last year from a state with a large (29 percent) black electorate, ERNEST "FRITZ" HOLLINGS (S.C.), decided to support Bork. Hollings, whose term ends in 1992, may well have provoked black voters whose support he has enjoyed in the past.

Names which are being floated as President Reagan's next nominee include Judge PATRICK HIGGINBOTHAM of the U.S. Court of Appeals for the Fifth Circuit (Dallas); former Senate majority leader and current White House chief of staff HOWARD BAKER; Sen. ORRIN HATCH (R-Utah); and Judge CLIFFORD WALLACE, U.S. Court of Appeals for the Ninth Circuit (San Diego). **All except Hatch are considered to be more "moderate" than Bork. Hatch may be barred from the Court (by Article I, section 6, paragraph 2) because of his vote as a senator to support raising the salaries of Supreme Court justices.** Some observers think the nomination of Hatch could be tied up over constitutional issues so long that it could well deprive President Reagan of the opportunity to appoint a ninth justice altogether. Of all of Reagan's potential nominees, Howard Baker is probably the one most favorable to black Americans, but he is also the one most despised by the ultra-right. Thus, some observers believe that Baker does not have a chance of being nominated by Reagan. At this writing, the odds-on favorite, if the Bork nomination is withdrawn or is defeated, is Judge Higginbotham.

Southern Black Voters (II): Jackson's Super-Tuesday Ace

The *Atlanta Journal and Constitution's* second southern primary poll of voters in 12 states (Alabama, Arkansas, Florida, Georgia, Kentucky, Louisiana, Mississippi, North Carolina, South Carolina, Tennessee, Texas, and Virginia) **gives JESSE JACKSON a strong lead over his rivals for the Democratic nomination for the presidency.** The poll, conducted September 18-28, showed Jackson with the support of 27 percent of the Democratic respondents; Sen. ALBERT GORE, Jr. (Tenn.), with 13 percent; Massachusetts Gov. MICHAEL S. DUKAKIS, 9 percent; Rep. RICHARD A. GEPHARDT (Mo.) and Sen. PAUL SIMON (Ill.), 5 percent each; and former Arizona Gov. BRUCE BABBITT, 3 percent. Six percent of Democrats polled did not prefer any of these candidates, and 29 percent were undecided. . . . **Jackson is ahead in 9 of the 12 southern states: Alabama, Arkansas, Georgia, Louisiana, Mississippi, North Carolina, South Carolina, Texas, and Virginia.** He does best in Alabama, Mississippi, and Virginia, three states where he is supported by a third to two-fifths of Democrats polled. Gore leads Jackson in Kentucky and Tennessee (Gore's home state), and Jackson is tied with Dukakis in Florida.

With the support of 65 percent of blacks and only 10 percent of whites, Jackson is clearly dependent on black voters. If the Democratic candidate field remains crowded, Jackson may very well win the primaries on March 8 in nine of the southern states on the basis of little more than the black vote. This would give him good momentum as he goes into the next set of primaries in the Midwest, where black voters are also a significant voting bloc. For Jackson, southern black voters are his best hope for staying the course—his ace in the hole, so to speak.

An "Unholy Alliance" Against Black Leaders? Some Say No

An issue that was widely discussed at this year's annual Congressional Black Caucus legislative weekend was whether black leaders, especially black elected officials, are under attack by the Reagan Justice Department, the Republican party, state and local prosecutors, and the press. Indeed, Rep. WALTER FAUNTROY (D-D.C.) opened a hearing on the subject with the question: **Is there an "unholy alliance" developing between Republican officials and the press to destroy black leaders? For the most part, the black candidates and elected officials on the panel** (former Brooklyn Rep. SHIRLEY CHISHOLM, former state Senator CLARENCE MITCHELL III, Rep. HAROLD FORD [D-Tenn.], and the congressional candidate for Louisiana's 8th district seat, FAYE WILLIAMS) **answered "yes, black leaders are under attack." Members of the press (see below) and a Justice Department spokesperson answered "no."**...In addition, two panelists addressed some broader historical and current issues. HERBERT REID, a Howard University law professor and counsel to Mayor MARION BARRY (D-D.C.), discussed the efforts by white officials in the 1890s to demonstrate that blacks were incapable of self-governing. Their goal, Reid said, was not only to remove black office-holders but also to disenfranchise blacks. **Professor MARY SAWYER of Iowa State University presented the findings of a study she conducted in 1977 and updated earlier this year. Sawyer called the investigations of black leaders a form of "red-baiting," where charges of corruption are replacing charges of communism. Sawyer and Fauntroy called**

for a plan of action to monitor cases of alleged harassment and to establish a legal defense fund for black leaders.

The media panelists, all black (DOROTHY GILLIAM and JUAN WILLIAMS of the *Washington Post*, WILBUR TATUM, publisher of the *New York Amsterdam News*, and BRUCE JOHNSON of Washington's WUSA-TV), **largely disagreed that there is an "unholy alliance" between the press and governmental officials.** They argued that racism does not explain all charges of corruption and that black officials should conduct themselves so properly that they could say, "try us anywhere [the courts or the press]." Williams and Johnson pointed out that, in this era, when "character" has become an issue for the public, blacks were not alone as targets of investigations; former presidential candidates GARY HART and JOSEPH BIDEN, former Secretary of Labor RAYMOND DONOVAN, Rep. MARIO BIAGGI (N.Y.), and a host of other white leaders and elected officials have also been targets.

In the end, the issue of harassment of black elected officials remained far from settled, as everyone expected. Most of the audience seemed to firmly believe that black public officials are unfairly being attacked, but what was also clearly revealed is a diversity of opinion on the issue within black America. For the panel members, that diversity came down to one's role, status, and occupation: elected officials charged racism; the journalists said their job was to cover a story with balance. But, as *Washington Post* columnist Dorothy Gilliam pointed out, what appears to be balance to some may not be perceived as balance to others.

Where Are They Now? Chisholm, Stokes, Jackson, Burke

They came, they did their duty, and they left the political scene. Or did they? *TL* begins an occasional series that will focus on the generation of leaders who graced the political stage in the early years of black political empowerment: "Where are they now?"**. . . .The spotlight this month is on two women, two men; one teacher, three lawyers, all pioneers whose rise to political prominence from humble beginnings is an inspiration and a legacy for those who will follow them. Though only one of them now holds elected office, all four are active in political and civic affairs. . .** SHIRLEY CHISHOLM, a former teacher and New York State assembly member, had many "firsts" in her political career. She was the first black woman elected to the U.S. House of Representatives when she won a seat in 1969 and was also the first mainstream black and the first woman to run for president. Early in 1982, Chisholm shocked many Americans by announcing her retirement from Congress to return "to a more private life." Many say she was tired of the growing conservative mood in the country. **But, even out of office, Chisholm continued to be one of the strongest voices in protest against the Reagan administration's cutbacks in domestic programs. In August 1984, Chisholm was one of the founders and is presently the chair of the National Political Congress of Black Women (NPCBW).** With her tireless devotion to progress for all those poor and suffering at the bottom of the economic ladder, Shirley Chisholm remains for many, black America's "First Lady." In addition to her ongoing political activities, Chisholm has returned to her former career as a teacher at several schools, including Mount Holyoke and Rutgers University.

In November 1962, CARL STOKES became the first black Democrat in the history of Ohio to be elected to the Ohio General Assembly. Stokes was elected from a county that was only 14 percent black. **But it was in November 1967, when he (along with RICHARD G. HATCHER in Gary, Indiana) became the first black elected mayor of a major American city (Cleveland), that Stokes reached full national prominence.** After completing two terms as mayor, Stokes embarked upon a career in broadcast journalism, becoming an anchorman at WNBC-TV in New York in 1972. In 1980, Stokes became general counsel to the United Auto Workers. **On November 8, 1983, he entered electoral politics again and was elected to the Cleveland Municipal Court, where he still serves.** The son of a laundry worker and a mother who was a domestic, Stokes dropped out of high school but went on to earn his Bachelor of Science degree from the University of Minnesota and his Juris Doctorate from Cleveland Marshall Law School.

MAYNARD JACKSON, formerly an attorney with the U.S. National Labor Relations Board and president of the Atlanta City Council, became Atlanta's first black mayor in 1974. Many believe his election set a trend for the election of black mayors to other southern cities. Barred by law from seeking a third term as mayor, Jackson left elective office in 1982 but, as a member of the executive committees of the Democratic National Committee and the Georgia Democratic Party, Jackson's feet are still firmly planted in the political arena. Jackson also leads a busy non-political life as an attorney—practicing public finance law in the Atlanta office of Chapman and Cutler, where he is a partner—and as an entrepreneur who was one of the founders of Air Atlanta, the nation's first black-owned airline.

YVONNE BRAITHWAITE BURKE, an attorney and former California State assemblywoman, became the only black woman from California ever to be elected to the U.S. House of Representatives when she won a seat in November 1972. In 1978, Representative Burke resigned to run for attorney general in California. After she lost that race, she was appointed to the powerful Los Angeles Supervisor's post but she failed to win election in 1978. Burke then began practicing law and remains prominent in California politics and civic associations. **She serves on numerous boards including the Board of Regents of the University of California, where she is currently vice-chairman.**

AROUND THE NATION

CONNECTICUT: State Rep. CARRIE SAXON PERRY, seeking to become Hartford's second black and first woman mayor, received 59 percent of the vote and defeated a white opponent to capture the Democratic primary nomination. Perry was endorsed by incumbent THIRMAN MILNER, the city's first black mayor, who is retiring. **Perry, an alumna of the Hartford public school system and Howard University, has been a community activist, an assistant majority leader of the state House, and secretary of the Legislative Black and Hispanic Caucus.**

DISTRICT OF COLUMBIA: District Democratic party officials are threatening to boycott the 1988 Democratic National Convention because a new rule has changed the "governor" status previously accorded the Mayor at national party conventions. As members of the D.C. Democratic state committee see it, this new rule undercuts the District's mayor at the very time that D.C. is seeking statehood. So far, the Democratic National Committee (DNC) does not seem to be listening to the complaint. **If the DNC does not rescind its decision, the mayor would have to compete with other District elected officials to become a delegate.** All in all, many political observers in D.C. think the skirmish might not mean much for voting on the floor at the Convention, but may do serious damage to the party by demonstrating its symbolic acquiescence to the foes of statehood in keeping D.C. the last territory in the continental United States that practices taxation without representation.

Meanwhile, **the D.C. Statehood fight itself seems to be falling upon hard times.** Although the premier fighters for statehood, Rep. WALTER FAUNTROY, the D.C. mayor, city council and, most especially, the Statehood Party are still optimistic, most agree that the going is rough. So far, Rep. Fauntroy reports having 177 House members pledged to support the bill—41 more are needed to reach a majority in the 435-member U.S. House of Representatives. Moreover, it is no longer certain that the House leadership will bring the bill to the floor this year.

ILLINOIS: As a result of a switch from at-large elections to a system in which members of the City Council are elected by individual wards, **Danville voters elected the first two black City Council members in 60 years.** LESTER BROWN, an accountant, and EUGENE THOMPSON, a 61 year-old retired foundry worker and one of the plantiffs in the voting rights suit that led to the new election system, were the two blacks who ended Danville's all white rule. Danville was 16 percent black in 1980.

In Springfield, **two blacks advanced toward a runoff and the certainty of being the first of their race on the town council since 1901.** In Ward 2, where all four candidates were black, state university official LEROY JORDAN won 44 percent of the vote and Democratic activist FRANK MCNEIL had 46 percent. They will face each other in the Nov. 3rd general election. . . . These elections were also part of the settlement of a class-action lawsuit by black residents who challenged the city's commission form of government under the federal voting rights act. Council members are now elected by districts.

MARYLAND: State's Attorney KURT SCHMOKE defeated incumbent (appointed) Mayor CLARENCE "DU" BURNS by a surprisingly close margin of about 5000 votes to become Baltimore's first elected black mayor. The closeness of the final tally shocked local pundits because of Schmoke's thirty point lead in early polls. Schmoke owes his victory to black voters. According to the Baltimore Evening Sun, he received more than 62 percent of the vote in precincts that are more than 90 percent black, while Burns received 68 percent of the vote in precincts that were at least 90 percent white. **But, for the first time, black turnout roughly equalled white turnout—approximately 44 percent of blacks are said to have voted compared to 43 percent of white voters.**

In Prince George's county, state's attorney ALEX WILLIAMS has established himself as a major voice in the community. **Williams, the only black elected to a countywide post in the approximately 50 percent black county, has begun a number of initiatives which lead many observers to believe that he has higher political ambitions.** For example, he has released a long-awaited police brutality study, hosted a large reception for Gov. William Schaefer, appears monthly on a local radio show, and is starting a monthly newsletter. But Williams's progress up the political ladder may not be immediate. The biggest obstacle is that higher positions are held by whites (e.g. the district's congressional representative and the county supervisor) who helped Williams in his campaign, and so far Williams has not demonstrated a proclivity to go against these supporters. So far, Williams says his plans are to run for re-election in three years rather than seek another office.

MICHIGAN: Former Rep. CHARLES DIGGS, the first chairman of the Congressional Black Caucus, lost his bid to return to electoral office in the Wayne County (Detroit) Commissioner's race. **Facing a crowded field of ten candidates, Diggs came in second in the Democratic primary to ALBERTA TINSLEY-WILLIAMS, who is also black.** Tinsley-Williams, who teaches classes in stress management to the unemployed, will now face another black woman, Republican MARJORIE B. RODGERS. Rodgers, who switched her registration to the Republican party in 1980, is currently a student at the Ross Institution of Business. Tinsley-Williams is expected to win in this heavily Democratic district.

MISSISSIPPI: **Blacks (all Democrats) made big gains in the state's August primary elections, in some cases winning offices they have not held since Reconstruction.** For example, ROSIE S. SIMMONS, a former deputy circuit clerk, became the first local black circuit clerk for Bolivar County in this century. . . . In Sunflower County (Indianola), CLANTON BEAMON, executive director of Delta Housing Development Corp., was elected as the first black supervisor. . . . In Lowndes and Oktibbeka Counties, ALFRED WALKER Jr., defeated a white candidate to become the first black to represent the 41st House District. . . . In Hinds County (Jackson) ALICE HARDEN is set to become the first black female state senator in Mississippi's history. Harden will represent the 28th senatorial district left vacant by the resignation of black Senator HENRY KIRKSEY, who is running for lieutenant governor in November. VELVELYN FOSTER, one of the candidates defeated by Harden, has challenged her election, claiming that Harden does not reside within the 28th district. A final decision on this matter is expected in mid-October. . . . None of these candidates have opposition in November, so for all practical purposes, they are the winners.

JCPS Roster of Black Elected Officials, 1987

Black Elected Officials: A National Roster, 1987, is now available from the Joint Center. The only publication of its kind, *The Roster* has documented the growth in the number of blacks elected to office for more than 15 years. Data compiled by the Center this year reveal that between January 1986 and January 1987, the number of black elected officials in the country rose from 6,424 to 6,681, an increase of 4.1 percent. This rate of growth was lower than it had been in previous years, and blacks still hold fewer than 1.5 percent of all elected offices.

Despite this diminishing rate of growth, blacks made many noteworthy accomplishments. Seventy-one took office in jurisdictions where no black person had ever before held office. And for the first time since Reconstruction, Mississippi Delta voters elected a black U.S. congressmember. Blacks now hold 23 seats in the U.S. House of Representatives, the highest number ever.

Black Elected Officials contains the name, title, jurisdiction, address, and date on which the term of office expires for every black elected official in the country. Also included are basic population data and information on governmental organization for each state.

For a copy of *Black Elected Officials* ($29.50 each), write Publications Clerk, Joint Center for Political Studies, 1301 Penn. Ave., N.W., Suite 400, Wash., D.C. 20004, or call 202-626-3500.

			Federal		State				Substate Regional		County			Municipal					Judicial and Law Enforcement						Education			
State	Total	Net Change since January 31, 1986	Senators	Representatives	Governors	Administrators	Senators	Representatives*	Members, Regional Bodies	Other Regional Officials	Members, County Governing Bodies	Members, Other County Bodies	Other County Officials	Mayors	Members, Municipal Governing Bodies	Members, Municipal Boards	Members, Neighborhood Advisory Commissions	Other Municipal Officials	Judges, State Courts of Last Resort	Judges, Other Courts	Magistrates, Justices of the Peace, Constables	Other Judicial Officials	Police Chiefs, Sheriffs, and Marshals	Other Law Enforcement Officials	Members, State Education Agencies	Members, University and College Boards	Members, Local School Boards	Other Education Officials
Alabama	448	45					5	19			58		13	32	220			1	1	9	18	5	7		2		56	2
Alaska	3	-1						1							1												1	
Arizona	15	3					1	2			3				4												5	
Arkansas	319	4					1	4						26	139			16		1	39					1	92	
California	293	6		4			2	6	5		8	1	1	7	41	7		4	1	79		1	1			20	105	
Colorado	15	1					1	3							3					4		1					3	
Connecticut	68	1				1	3	7						1	32	3		2			3						16	
Delaware	21	2					1	2						1	12												5	
District of Columbia	251	0		1										1	9		232										8	
Florida	179	1					2	10			11	3		18	94	3		2	1	17			1				15	2
Georgia	445	28		1			6	22			91		3	17	209	1		2		14	2	1	1				73	2
Hawaii	1	0																									1	
Idaho	0	0																										
Illinois	434	8		3		1	7	14			35	1		19	149	45		18		25		1				2	114	
Indiana	69	-1					2	6			12			1	30		1	2		3							9	
Iowa	9	0					1				2				1							1					4	
Kansas	29	1					1	3			2				7	1		2		3							10	
Kentucky	74	28					1	1			1			2	50					3	2		1	1			12	
Louisiana	505	17					5	14			118	2		21	158			2		8	41	1	14				121	
Maine	3	0																1									2	
Maryland	119	11		1			6	21			6			9	52		1		1	13		4					5	
Massachusetts	36	1					1	6			1				15	4											9	
Michigan	316	2		2		1	3	13			25		2	14	82			17	1	50	4				1	14	87	
Minnesota	12	3						1						1	3					4			1				2	
Mississippi	548	27		1			2	18			51	43	5	21	205			4	1	2	74	5	5				103	8
Missouri	164	3		2			3	12			3			15	93			5		10		2	2			2	15	
Montana	0	0																										
Nebraska	5	1					1								1												3	
Nevada	10	1					1	2			1				2					2						1	1	
New Hampshire	1	1						1																				
New Jersey	198	-2					2	6			7		1	10	92			1				1					78	
New Mexico	6	1				1					1				1					2							1	
New York	250	2		4			4	16			11			2	32	6				48	1						126	
North Carolina	353	42					3	13	1		32	1	1	18	194	1			1	16		2	4				66	
North Dakota	0	0																										
Ohio	214	5		1			2	11			1	1		11	98	3		9		30					1		46	
Oklahoma	117	1					2	3			2			15	49			20		2			1				23	
Oregon	10	0					2	1			1				2	1				2							1	
Pennsylvania	140	6		1			3	15						4	42			3	1	35	12	1					23	
Rhode Island	11	3					1	5							3												2	
South Carolina	340	11					4	16			62	1	2	14	119	2				1			4			1	114	
South Dakota	3	0												1	2													
Tennessee	143	1		1			3	10			47			2	38					11	7		1				23	
Texas	282	1		1			2	13			13			10	119	1				12	19				1	6	85	
Utah	1	0																		1								
Vermont	1	0						1																				
Virginia	123	-2				1	2	7			32		3	8	56			4				7	3					
Virgin Islands	35	-5			1	1	10			17															6			
Washington	19	2					2	1			1			2	3					4							6	
West Virginia	20	0						1							13			3		2	1							
Wisconsin	20	-2					1	3			2				7					3			1				3	
Wyoming	3	0						1							1												1	
Total	6,681	257	0	23	1	6	99	311	6	17	640	53	31	303	2,483	78	237	118	8	416	223	33	47	1	11	47	1,475	14

Source: *Black Elected Officials: A National Roster, 1987*

The New Black Middle Class (Part II)

Due to Economic Vulnerability and Racial Bias, the American Dream Is Tarnished for Many

by Bart Landry

Editor's note: In the first part of this article, which appeared in the September 1987 issue of Focus*, Dr. Landry, a JCPS visiting scholar and author of* The New Black Middle Class *(University of California Press, 1987), described how the black middle class grew from 3 percent of all black workers in 1910 to 37 percent in 1980 (and was projected to grow to 56 percent in the year 2000). He also showed that "the black middle class lags far behind the white middle class in proportionate size and in access to the most desirable jobs within the middle class." In part II, he explores in greater detail the differences in income, occupation, and standard of living between the black and white middle classes.*

In the mid-1970s, middle-class blacks were still riding the crest of the civil rights victories of the 1960s. Ten years of affirmative action had facilitated the influx of a large number of blacks into the middle class, most of them moving up from the working class. For these blacks, life had indeed changed. Not even the gas lines and the economic problems brought on by the 1973-75 recession had yet dampened their enthusiasm. One-fourth of the black respondents in my 1976 survey felt they were already experiencing the best possible life, and two-thirds expected to share that experience within five years.

Enter 1981, five years later. Instead of their dreams being realized, the black middle class found the United States was in an even deeper recession than that experienced in the early 1970s. In the following year, 1982, the black middle class not only stopped growing; it shrank by 5,000. The white middle class, in contrast, expanded by half a million. While the black middle class resumed its expansion in 1983, a major fact had been underscored: the new black middle class is an economically vulnerable group.

Income Gap Grew in the 1970s

In seeking to explain the vulnerability of middle-class blacks, one of the most important questions is whether blacks and whites receive the same rewards when they enter the middle class. In his book, *The Declining Significance of Race,* William J. Wilson argues that as a result of the civil rights legislation of 1964, college educated blacks now enter the job market with the same opportunities as comparably educated whites. Even "during the serious recession of the 1970s," he adds, "trained and educated blacks continued to improve their positions vis-a-vis whites in terms of income and occupational advancement."

However, the income data published by the U.S. Census Bureau do not substantiate these claims and, instead, reveal just the opposite. Between 1974 and 1981 for instance, average income increased by 53.5 percent for black middle class males but rose by 68.2 percent for white middle class males. For black and white females, the comparable gains were 73.9 and 77.0 percent, respectively. The result was an *increase* rather than a decrease in the income gap of both groups. The recessions of the mid 1970s and the early 1980s were especially disastrous for middle-class black males, whose average income declined by 0.3 percent in 1980 and increased by less than 2 percent in 1981. In contrast, white males' incomes in those same years grew by 7.2 percent and 8.8 percent, respectively.

Even the data on incomes of black and white professionals—among whom we can expect to find the recent college educated blacks Wilson argues are competing on an equal basis with whites—do not support Wilson's thesis. Between 1974 and 1981, the average income of black professionals increased by only 38.7 percent, compared to 66.7 percent among whites. The result was an even greater widening of the gap (from $3,976 in 1974 to $10,418 in 1981) between black and white professionals than between all middle-class blacks and whites. The income gap between black and white professional women also widened—though not as much as the gap between professional men—even though black women have more job experience than white women.

Bias or Human Capital Deficiencies?

It has often been charged that the lower incomes of minorities and women are due to deficiencies in human capital. Minorities and women, so the argument goes, have less education, job experience, and seniority than white males and are more likely to be in lower paying occupations. Given the pervasiveness of this argument, it deserves close scrutiny. Is the income gap between blacks and whites due primarily to human capital deficiencies or to racial discrimination?

To answer this question, I employed a statistical technique developed by sociologist Otis Dudley Duncan of the University of Arizona. Using survey data I had collected from 21 metropolitan areas, I determined that middle-class blacks earned an average of $4,600 less than middle-class whites. Next—to obtain a statistically matched sample—I assigned a sample of black males the same characteristics as white males in terms of level of education, seniority, job experience, supervisory responsibilities, residence in the North or the South, and employment in the private or public sector. Using multiple regression, I then recalculated the income of the sample of black males. The result? The income gap was narrowed by only slightly more than $1,000, leaving a gap of about $3,500 caused by racial discrimination.

This conclusion suggests that the widening income gap in the 1970s and the 1980s indicates a resurgence—not a lessening, as Wilson claims—of market discrimination. Rather than declining in significance, racial bias appears to be increasing for the black middle class.

All of this should not be surprising. A study by Robert Althauser and Sydney Spivack, *The Unequal Elites* (published in 1975), had similar findings. After matching 800 black and white male graduates who were from the same colleges and had similar backgrounds, Althauser and Spivack found that whites consistently obtained better jobs and received higher incomes than blacks. More recently, a 1984 census study examining the economic payoffs for educational investment found that black college graduates earned significantly lower incomes than white college graduates.

What Price the Good Life?

To what extent do the lower incomes and occupational gains of blacks affect their living standards? Are middle-class blacks able to live the good life? According to the Bureau of Labor Statistics (BLS), an urban family of four needed an income of $23,700 to maintain a middle-class living standard in 1976. By 1981, the price tag for living the American Dream had increased to $38,000. I estimate that in 1987 it is about $55,000.

In 1976, the two-parent, middle-class families who made up my sample had average incomes of $21,300, or about $2,000 under the BLS standard. Those in the upper middle class, with an average income of $23,300, fared far better than those in the lower middle class, where a majority of blacks were concentrated. With an average income of $18,300, most lower middle-class black families found the good life still a distant goal. This was true also of lower middle-class whites whose average income was only slightly higher than that of blacks. Upper middle-class white families, however, enjoyed an average family income *exceeding* the BLS standard by $2,000.

Though average family incomes of two-parent black and white middle-class families were not very far apart in the mid 1970s, black families had to expend a greater effort to realize the same standard of living as white families. Sixty-two percent of all middle-class black wives worked full time in 1976, compared to only 24 percent of white wives. Without this contribution by wives, the average upper middle-class black family would have missed the income standard for the good life by about $9,000, but upper middle-class whites would have missed it by only $4,000. Once within the middle class, black families have historically depended far more upon the economic contribution of wives to approach or maintain the living standard associated with that class. This was increasingly the case in the 1970s and 1980s.

The slower income gains of black males and females in the 1970s and 1980s resulted in an erosion of their already tenuous living standard. With most middle-class black wives already employed full time, black families have not been able to shore up their sagging incomes by the large scale entrance of wives into the labor force as whites have done. The addition of income from white wives' employment, as well as the generally higher income gains of white males, helped middle-class white families keep pace with the rising cost of living into the 1980s. Black middle-class families, as a group, found their living standards slipping.

A Tarnished Dream

In the fading glow of the 1970s and 1980s, middle-class blacks have had reason to reassess the optimism engendered by their gains of the 1960s. There is no doubt that the gains of the sixties were real. The new black middle class today is larger and more diversified than its predecessor under segregation. It plays an important role in the larger economy, and it makes its intellectual contribution to the nation.

However, the limitations of its achievements are also real. Black middle-class males and females remain more concentrated in fewer occupations than whites and have entered upper middle-class occupations in disproportionately smaller numbers. Incomes have risen slower. Living standards are being eroded. Contrary to those who would like to believe that race has lost its significance in the market place, recent data indicate just the opposite. In the 1970s and 1980s, blacks seeking entry to the middle class found the hurdles they faced before the 1960s rising once more and the pace of their entry slowing. Blame for this turn of events can be laid at the doors of a sluggish economy and the resurgence of discrimination, aided and abetted in the 1980s by the Reagan administration's hostility to affirmative action. Resumption of the pace of middle-class growth experienced in the 1960s depends on improvements in economic growth and support for affirmative action.

In conclusion, blacks in large numbers realized the American Dream during the past 25 years; but as they looked around it became apparent that it was a tarnished dream. Sad irony for a people whose sweat and blood contributed so much to the building of the American Dream. ■

New JCPS Distinguished Scholar

Professor Peyton McCrary joined the Joint Center in August as the 1987-88 Distinguished Scholar. During his year at the Center, he expects to complete a book on the struggle of southern blacks for representation in local government. McCrary has served as an expert witness in at least 30 voting rights cases over the past two decades, testifying for either minority plaintiffs or the U.S. Department of Justice.

A native Virginian, McCrary earned his bachelor's and master's degrees at the University of Virginia. He received a Ph.D. in history from Princeton University in 1972. He has taught at the University of Minnesota, Vanderbilt University, and the University of South Alabama, where he is currently a professor of history. He is the author of several articles and papers on electoral politics and on the Civil War and Reconstruction. His prize winning book, *Abraham Lincoln and Reconstruction: The Louisiana Experiment,* was published by Princeton University Press in 1978. ■

Fellowships for Minorities

The Social Science Research Council, a non-profit research organization, is seeking minority applicants for its Advanced Research Fellowships in Foreign Policy Studies. The program encourages research that studies the complex interplay of political, economic, social, and international forces that are believed to influence foreign policy making. Applicants must hold a Ph.D. or a degree of accomplishment equivalent to the Ph.D.

Deadline for applications is December 1, 1987. For more information, contact the Program in Foreign Policy Studies, Social Science Research Council, 605 Third Avenue, New York, N.Y. 10158; telephone 212-661-0280.

The National Urban Fellows, Inc., which has awarded 452 fellowships since its inception in 1969, is encouraging women, blacks, Hispanics, and other minorities to apply for its Fellowships in Public Administration and Rural Development. Following an intensive eight-week academic session at Bernard M. Baruch College of the City University of New York (for Urban Fellows) and the University of Massachusetts at Amherst (for Rural Fellows), fellows spend nine months as assistants to governors, mayors, city managers, and county administrators of urban and rural agencies and organizations. Master's degrees will be awarded to fellows successfully completing all requirements.

Deadline for applications is January 15, 1988. For more information, contact National Urban Fellows, Inc., 570 Seventh Avenue, Suite 905, New York, N.Y. 10018; telephone 212-221-7090. ■

Black Family Income

(Continued from page 4)

poverty population.[2] Slightly over 31 percent of the black population was in poverty, a rate that was nearly three times the rate for whites. Poverty rates are much higher for black families that are headed by women, and the extremely high proportion of black children in poverty reflects the fact that one-half of black children live in families headed by a woman without a husband present.

As these numbers make clear, while some blacks have made gains in income during the economic recovery of the past 5 years, those gains have not been equally distributed. In addition, black families have yet to regain the position, relative to whites, that they held 15 years ago. ■

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[2] The poverty definition used by the Census Bureau is set by the Office of Management and Budget and consists of a series of money income thresholds that vary by family size and composition, and which are adjusted annually to reflect changes in the Consumer Price Index. For example, the poverty threshold for a family of four in 1986 was $11,203.

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The Republicans' Image Problem Among Blacks

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Fifth National Policy Institute: Charting the Future Course of Public Policy for Blacks

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POLITICAL TRENDLETTER

Perspective

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Fifth National Policy Institute: Charting the Future Course of Public Policy for Blacks

In last month's Perspective column, "Project 1993: A Five-Year Plan for Political Empowerment," I described how blacks must begin to organize and strategize around four major political developments that will take us through the next decade and into the 21st century. These developments include the presidential elections of 1988 and 1992; upcoming state and local elections; and the 1990 decennial census.

I continue with that theme this month, as black elected and appointed officials continue to gear up for the Fifth National Policy Institute (NPI V), which convenes January 20-23, 1988. "NPI V," a non-partisan conference of black elected and appointed officials, will focus the nation's attention on the critical public policy issues facing black America. Over 1,000 black public officials, scholars, civil rights leaders, government officials, corporate executives, and labor leaders will develop strategies and form coalitions to pursue their policy interests.

The conference will not only serve as a "kick-off" for the presidential election year, it will yield solid information that public officials and other leaders need to effectively chart the future course of public policies affecting their constituencies.

Experts from all walks of life will address the conference. Some of the invited speakers and the topics they will discuss are:

- Eleanor Holmes Norton, a former chair of the Equal Employment Opportunity Commission and currently a law professor at Georgetown University, and Congressman Bill Gray (D-Pa.), chairman of the House Budget Committee—"Governmental Initiatives and Individual Responsibilities";
- Alexander Williams, Jr., state's attorney, Prince George's County, Maryland, and Judge Thelma Wyatt Cummings of Atlanta, Georgia—"Criminal Justice and the Black Community";
- Joshua Smith, president, Maxima Corporation—"Increasing Opportunities for Minority Businesses";
- Ron Pollack, executive director, Villers Foundation, and Steve McConnell, coordinator, Long Term Care Project, Villers Foundation—"The Plight of the Black Elderly";
- Ernest Green, senior vice-president, Shearson, Lehman Brothers, and Pauline Schneider, attorney, Hunton and Williams—"Public/Private Financing of Government Services";
- Dr. Marcus Alexis, Northwestern University—"Economic Policy Agenda: Employment Implications";
- M. Carl Holman, president of the National Urban Coalition, and Illinois State Senator Richard Newhouse—"Effective Education Strategies: What Works?"; and
- Yvonne Scruggs-Leftwich, chairperson, Y.E.L. Corporation, and Ghebre Selassie Mehreteab, director of Public/Private Partnerships, National Corporation for Housing Partnerships—"The Low-Income Housing Crisis."

There will also be major addresses on education; on the prosecution/persecution of black elected officials; and on the 1988 elections.

Make your reservations now for "NPI V." Space is limited. For more information see pages 11-12. ■

Eddie N. Williams

PRESIDENT

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The monthly newsletter of the **Joint Center for Political Studies,** 1301 Pa. Ave., N.W., Suite 400, Washington, D.C. 20004 (202) 626-3500. The Joint Center for Political Studies is a national, nonprofit, tax-exempt institution that conducts research on public policy issues of special concern to black Americans and promotes informed and effective involvement of blacks in the governmental process. Founded in 1970, the Joint Center provides independent and nonpartisan analyses through research, publication, and outreach programs. Opinions expressed in signed *Focus* articles are those of the authors and do not necessarily represent the views of the Joint Center for Political Studies. *Focus* is published monthly. $15.00 per year by JCPS, Inc.

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The Republicans' Image Problem Among Blacks

Poll Shows the Party's Potential to Win Black Votes, But Does the GOP Care?

by Eddie N. Williams

Editor's note: This article is adapted from the text of a speech given by the author, the president of the Joint Center for Political Studies, at the Luncheon Forum Series of the Council of 100, a Washington, D.C., organization of black Republicans, on October 28, 1987.

I am especially glad to have the opportunity in this forum to pay tribute to your founder, the late Sam Jackson,[1] who was one of the founders of the Joint Center for Political Studies. He would be pleased to find me in your company today, addressing a subject that was very close to his heart: the relationship between blacks and the Republican party.

This is a subject of enormous controversy among both partisans and scholars. I do not intend to rehash the many sides of the debate here, but I would like to shed some additional light on the subject by sharing with you some of the Joint Center's most recent research findings. These findings, based on a national survey conducted by the Center and The Gallup Organization last August, suggest that the GOP has an enormous image problem in the black community, but at the same time it has an enormous opportunity, perhaps a high-risk opportunity, to win more black support than it now enjoys.

Gloomy Findings for the GOP

Each year the Joint Center interviews a national random sample of over 900 blacks and 900 whites. The Center decides what questions to ask; The Gallup Organization administers the survey; and the Joint Center analyzes the responses.

From Reconstruction to 1936, blacks were as solidly Republican in their partisan identification as they have been solidly Democratic since 1964. Today, only 10 percent of blacks identify themselves as Republicans. This proportion has not changed significantly in recent years. This is true despite strong appeals from Republicans—black and white—and despite the fact that the GOP has held the White House for 19 of the 23 years since the Goldwater debacle of 1964.

For most people, identifying with a political party is a highly personal decision. Most of us choose a party on the basis of our perception of whether the party cares about us and the things we believe in. The Joint Center's 1987 survey produced some gloomy findings for the Republican party. It showed that only 17 percent of all blacks think that Republicans care about their problems. (See the graph on page 4.) And among black Republicans, only 55 percent thought Republicans cared about black people. These figures are extraordinarily low and they indicate that the GOP has a serious image problem in the black community. To show just how disastrous this image problems is, 80 percent of black Democrats say their party cares about them.

The GOP image problem is serious among whites as well. Whites are more likely to say that Democratic leaders rather than GOP leaders care about the problems of blacks: 69 percent of whites said Democratic leaders care and only 12 percent said they do not care; 44 percent of whites said Republicans care but 35 percent said they do not care.

The picture is not substantially better among white Republicans. Only 67 percent of the party faithful said that Republican leaders care about the problems of blacks.

Taken as a whole, our survey data suggest that both blacks and whites are more likely to perceive Republicans as caring less about blacks than do Democrats, or, put another way, they perceive the Democrats as caring more about blacks than do Republicans. This perception may well be a central determinant of black partisanship. What lies behind this perception, of course, is the subject of much debate and conjecture. But my point here is that, for whatever reasons, the Republican party has an enormous image problem in the black community.

Potential Converts to the GOP

The second point I want to make is that in spite of this image problem, there is considerable potential for the GOP to win a larger share of black support. Let me cite three factors which lead to this conclusion.

The first factor is the weakening of black ties to the Democratic party. In the Center's 1987 survey, blacks continue to identify overwhelmingly (77 percent) with the Democratic party, but their attachment is not as strong as it once was. For example, while 55 percent of

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[1] Mr. Jackson had a long career in public service. After serving in the Air Force, he directed the Topeka office of the NAACP, where he worked on the case that resulted in the landmark *Brown v. Board of Education* decision. He was appointed by President Lyndon Johnson as one of the five original commissioners of the Equal Employment Opportunity Commission in 1965, and in 1969, he was named assistant secretary of Housing and Urban Development, the third-ranking position in the department, by President Richard Nixon. In 1973, he resigned to become a partner in the Wall Street law firm of Stroock, Stroock, and Lavan, where he practiced until his death in 1982.

Republicans' Image Problem

(Continued from page 3)

blacks were "strong Democrats" in 1984, only 49 percent were "strong Democrats" in 1986, and the proportion dropped to a conspicuous low of 41 percent in 1987.

While the attachment of blacks to the Democratic party is weakening, they nevertheless remain in the Democratic party. They have not been persuaded to join the GOP.

> ***While the attachment of blacks to the Democratic party is weakening, they nevertheless remain in the Democratic party. They have not been persuaded to join the GOP.***

The second factor is that younger blacks, those between 18 and 29 years old, are increasingly likely to identify with the Republican party. They should be a major target for Republican recruitment efforts. In the first place, 18 percent of this group (about 6 million eligible voters) identifies as Republicans, compared to only 10 percent for blacks as a whole. (See graphs on page 5.) Moreover, 15 percent of them say they are likely to vote Republican in 1988, compared to 8 percent overall. Here are some other interesting attributes of this young cohort:

—Only 27 percent considered themselves to be strong Democrats, compared to 49 percent of blacks between 30-49 and 46 percent of those who are over 50.

—This group is slightly more inclined to say Republican leaders care about blacks and slightly less inclined to say Democrats care.

—While only 19 percent of all blacks believe their financial situation has improved, 27 percent of 18- to 29-year-olds see themselves as financially better off today.

—Twenty percent of this group, compared to only 13 percent of all blacks, approve of the way President Reagan is doing his job.

Now before any of you send Republican National Committee chairman Frank Fahrenkoph or your favorite GOP presidential candidate an urgent action memo, let me tell you a few other things about this very interesting group of young blacks. They feel strongly that the federal government should see to it that every person has a job and a good standard of living (69 percent compared to 61 percent overall). And 72 percent of them want to see Jesse Jackson get the Democratic presidential nomination. Despite these rather non-Republican attributes, I think this group should be studied and targeted.

Pressure on Party Leaders

The third factor deals with the post-Reagan Republican party. While I think it is much too early to know how the GOP will sort itself out after the Reagan era, I think it is fair to say that all of the current crop of Republican presidential candidates enjoy a better reputation and a greater degree of rapport in the black

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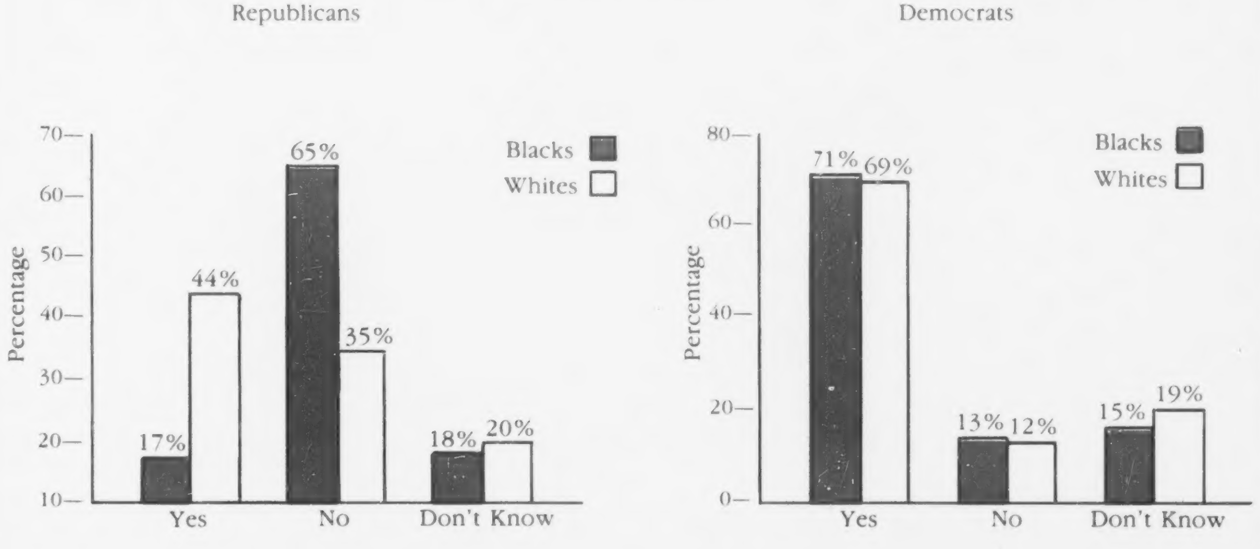
Do the Republicans and the Democrats Care About the Problems of Blacks?*



*Based on the 1987 JCPS/Gallup survey of 918 blacks and 916 whites.

Republicans' Image Problem

(Continued from page 4)

community than does Ronald Reagan. This could become a big plus in connection with any effort to recruit more blacks to the party.

The challenge to the Council of 100 and others who are interested in seeing more black participation in Republican politics is to figure out what strategies can best accomplish their objective. I think it is fair to assume that, barring some horrendous blunder by the Democratic party, the Republican party will have to make changes to attract and accommodate blacks.

Toward this end, the Council and other black Republican groups must reach out to blacks, on one hand, and put more pressure on the Republican party and its leaders, on the other. Not only do most blacks have a negative image of the Republican party, they also have little regard for black leaders in the party.

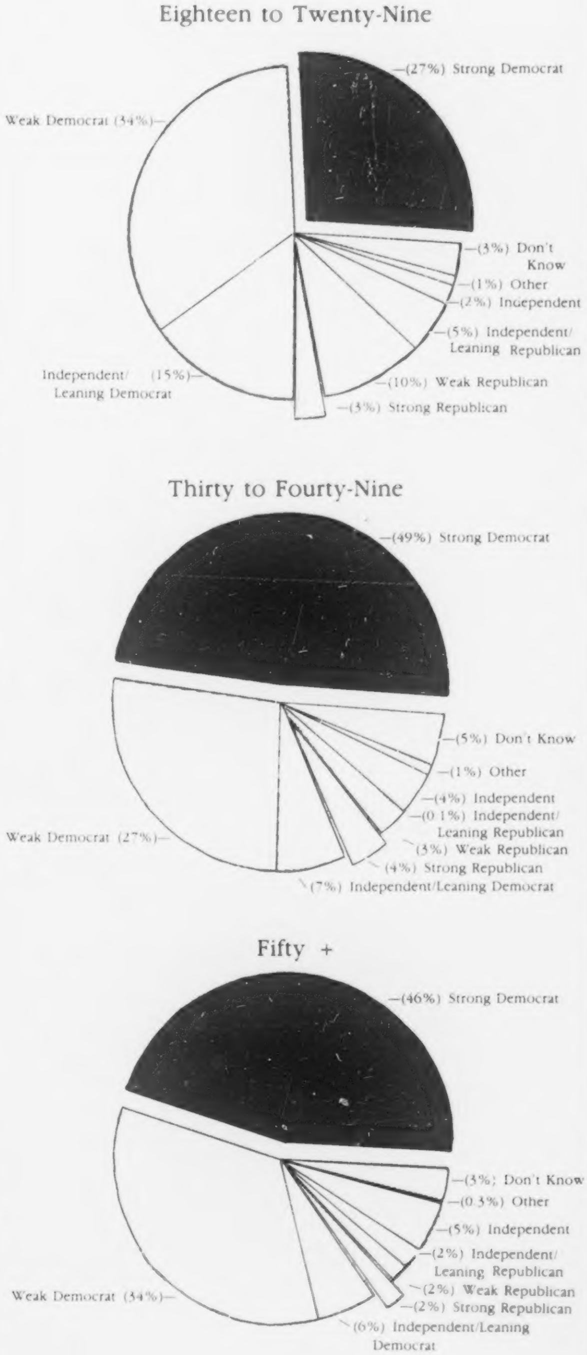
In fact, black Republicans are often viewed as lacking influence in their party and as being more interested in their own personal economic welfare than in the welfare of the black community. These and other perceptions have intensified during the Reagan era, when so many actions have been taken by the administration against the perceived interests of black people.

I know it is easy for an outsider to say this, but I believe black Republicans must take off the kid gloves in dealing with their party. It is never comfortable to rock the boat—to speak in a loud voice instead of genteel tones—to object when everyone else appears to agree. But that is often what a minority has to do if it wants to be heard, to be listened to, to be considered as serious players. And the smaller the minority, the more important it is for them to make themselves heard.

> ***With all or most of the Republican candidates publicly saying the party wants more black support, now is the time to put their feet to the fire by asking what the party is willing to do to attract such support.***

Sam Jackson understood this need to be firm, to put principles above personal gain, to be hard-nosed about pursuing the interests of the black community. Change and accommodation will not come without struggle and sacrifice, without strong alliances with other segments of the party seeking the same goal. With all or most of the Republican candidates publicly saying the party wants more black support, now is the time to put their feet to the fire by asking what the party is willing to do to attract such support. There is little attraction at the moment. ■

Party Identification of Blacks by Age Group, 1987



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November-December 1987

POLITICAL TRENDLETTER

Inside This Issue

- **Voters in Baltimore and Hartford, in history-making elections, chose blacks to lead their cities; Philadelphians reelected their first black mayor; and voters in Charlotte and Flint rejected incumbent black mayors.**
- **Presidential candidate Jesse Jackson's support has grown in the polls and among black leaders.**
- **A federal court of appeals in New York City ruled that the powerful Board of Estimates violated the constitutional "one man, one vote" principle by giving equal weight to the votes of each borough president. In a referendum scheduled for 1988, New Yorkers must choose between revising the city charter or abolishing the board.**
- **Legislation has been introduced in Congress to reform voter registration laws to make it easier to vote.**
- ***Across the nation:* in Birmingham, Mayor Richard Arrington was reelected to a third four-year term with 60 percent of the vote; in Mississippi, two blacks, one Republican and one Democrat, were handily defeated in their bid to gain statewide office; and, in Durham, N.C., blacks formed a majority of the city council for the first time in the city's history.**

Black Mayors: An Election Roundup

The following is an alphabetically arranged, city-by-city analysis of the November 3, 1987, mayoral elections in which blacks were major participants. City council and other results will be reported in future issues of *TL*.

Baltimore, Maryland: Democratic mayoral nominee KURT SCHMOKE got two victories from the voters on election day. **First, he coasted to an expected triumph as the city's first elected black mayor, defeating Republican SAMUEL CULOTTA by a four-to-one margin (100,923 votes to 27,636).** Second, and just as impressive, **the voters rejected (by over 74,000 votes) a charter amendment (Question K) that would have permitted the city council to introduce its own budget.** In radio and television ads, Schmoke had campaigned against the amendment, which he said would give the city council a "blank check." After the election, councilmembers who had supported the amendment conceded defeat; as one told the *Baltimore Sun*, "What happens now is largely dependent on [Schmoke]."

Charlotte, North Carolina: Because whites outnumber blacks by five-to-one among registered Charlotte voters, two-term Mayor HARVEY GANTT (D) has until now been the exception to the rule that southern whites vote only for white candidates. **After the November 3 general election, however, Gantt is no longer an "exception": He lost the mayoral race to Republican SUE MYRICK, a former city councilmember who got 47,311 votes to Gantt's 46,296.** . . .Political analysts expressed surprise at the result; "Even [Gantt] was surprised," said one. A possible reason for Gantt's defeat was the recent annexation of a suburban area which yielded 3513 white votes and only 618 black votes, according to a source in the state voter registration office. Another likely reason, according to STEVE SUITTS, president of the Southern Regional Council (SRC), was that voters reverted to racial bloc voting. **A preliminary analysis by SRC showed a "remarkable correlation" in the percentages of black and white support for Gantt and for RONALD LEEPER, a black councilmember seeking an at- large seat. Suitts told *TL* that the "underlying pattern" was that whites did not vote for the black candidates.**

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Cleveland, Ohio: Though no black candidate was on the ballot for mayor in this election, **analysts suggest that the signs point to a black running for mayor in 1991.** Is former mayor and current Municipal Court Judge CARL STOKES (D) testing the waters? Stokes' chances are boosted by his reelection with 60 percent of the vote in a city-wide election.... While Stokes may see his reelection as a "green light" from the voters, City Council President GEORGE FORBES (D-9th ward) received a different signal. Forbes has never faced the voters in a city-wide election, but his brother, CLEOFORD "ZEKE" FORBES, was defeated in his bid to return as clerk of the municipal court, a post to which he had been appointed. Analysts see Zeke Forbes' defeat as a sign of the low levels of city-wide support for George Forbes.... **Including Stokes, six blacks (three of them incumbents) were elected judges to the 13-member municipal court.**

Durham, North Carolina: Black Republican HOWARD CLEMENTS received 8,801 votes but lost his bid to become mayor. The winner was white incumbent Mayor WILBUR GULLEY (D), who got 12,896 votes. Voter turnout was slightly over 32 percent.... Clements did not resign his city council seat, which he will retain for two more years.... In other elections in Durham, four blacks (including two incumbents) were elected to the 13-member city council, which now has seven blacks—a majority, for the first time in the city's history.

Flint, Michigan: Incumbent JAMES SHARP (D), the city's first black mayor, lost to MATT COLLIER (R), by 22,874 votes to 19,509. Collier, who is white, was an aide to Congressman DALE KILDEE (D-7th district.)... Sharp, a retired Marine and former aide to then-Representative (and now Senator) Don Riegle (D-Mich.), served one term in office.

Gary, Indiana: Democrat THOMAS BARNES, who earlier won the Democratic mayoral primary by defeating incumbent Mayor RICHARD HATCHER, cruised to an easy win over Republican THADDEUS ROMANOWSKI. Barnes received 26,576 votes while his opponent got only 1,484.... Former congresswoman KATIE HALL (D) was elected city clerk.

Hartford, Connecticut: Democrat CARRIE SAXON PERRY, a four-term state representative, defeated Republican PHILIP STEELE by a margin of 10,763 to 7,613 votes. **Perry, who succeeds Hartford's first black mayor, THIRMAN MILNER, is the first black woman mayor in New England.** About 41 percent of the city's registered voters came to the polls.... In an interview with *Washington Post* columnist DOROTHY GILLIAM the day after the election, Perry proposed a "linkage policy" under which businesses who benefit from the downtown building boom would be required to make a commitment to revitalize neighborhoods that have pockets of poverty. "Most businesses don't like the mandatory aspect," said Perry. "They prefer the carrot to the stick. But I like a combination of both."

Memphis, Tennessee: Councilmember MINERVA JOHNICAN, one of three black candidates, received 38,817 votes but came in a distant second behind the incumbent Mayor DICK HACKETT, who is white. Hackett got 99,295 votes in this non-partisan election in which the candidates are not required to declare party affiliation.

Miami, Florida: ARTHUR TEELE, JR., a prominent attorney and black Republican, received 10,415 votes (about 25 percent of the total) in the non-partisan mayoral race but failed to qualify for the November 10 runoff between incumbent XAVIER SUAREZ, the city's first Cuban-American mayor, and MAURICE FERRE, a former mayor who had been in office for 12 years.... In the runoff, a majority of blacks supported the incumbent mayor, Suarez, who was reelected with 62 percent of the vote.

Mount Vernon, New York: Incumbent RONALD BLACKWOOD (D), the first black mayor of a New York city, was reelected to a second term by garnering 7,873 votes, while his nearest opponent, GEORGE ALBANO (R), received 5,079 votes.

New Haven, Connecticut: Councilman BILL JONES, a black candidate, was defeated in the Democratic primary by the incumbent, Mayor BIAGIO DILIETO, who was reelected in the general election.

Philadelphia, Pennsylvania: *With 98 percent of the votes counted, Mayor WILSON GOODE (D) defeated former mayor FRANK RIZZO, once a Democrat now running as a Republican, by a slim 14,500 votes—329,633 to 315,115, according to early, unofficial returns.* Though Rizzo has refused to concede until the votes have been recounted—and had yet to do so at this writing—Goode appears to have won a narrow victory, with the help of a heavy black turnout (reportedly over 70 percent in many black wards) and the support of 15 to 20 percent of white voters.... **Goode claimed to be "liberated" by his win, but the small margin of victory and the racially polarized vote led one analyst to suggest that Goode "was probably shaken that more people did not have more confidence in him."** Dr. SANDRA FEATHERMAN, a political scientist at Temple University, argues that Goode gave up too much power to the city council in his first term but predicts that he will be bolder in his second term. "He must take a stronger hand in governing the city," she told TL.

Black Leaders Disagree in New York City Charter Fight

With a judicially imposed deadline of November 1988 looming over the process, **New York City's black political community is split over how to revise the city charter. The charter changes became necessary when the Federal Court of Appeals for the 2d Circuit, in a voting rights lawsuit initiated by minority civic organizations in Brooklyn, ordered New York City to either reform or abolish the powerful Board of Estimates**—the city body which approves the $25 billion budget, grants franchises, issues zoning variances, approves land use, and most importantly, approves all contracts. The board is made up of the mayor, city council president and comptroller, all of whom are elected city-wide and have two votes each, and the five borough presidents, each of whom has one vote. The federal court ruled on October 8, 1987, that the board's voting provisions violated the "one person, one vote" test because it grants Staten Island, with its 352,000 residents, the same one vote as Brooklyn, with its population of more than 2 million. . . . **Black leaders disagree on what revisions are best for the black community. Some note that blacks (and Puerto Ricans) have finally regained a voice on the all powerful board after an eight-year absence; they favor retaining the Board of Estimates and weighting the votes of the borough presidents according to the population of each borough. Others argue that the Board of Estimates is an anachronism; they are calling for the board's abolition and for redrawing council districts to increase the number of black councilmembers from six to nine.** The current debate pits Manhattan Borough President David N. Dinkins and Harlem activist Reverend Calvin O. Butts, who support retention of the board, against black city councilmembers, who oppose the board and want its powers transferred to the city council.

The mayor has appointed a Charter Revision Commission to examine the entire Charter and prepare a referendum for November 1988 that would propose changes in the way the city is governed. **Meanwhile, the commission's public hearings have reflected inadequate black participation in decisions which will affect the balance of power in New York City for years to come.** (This item was submitted to *TrendLetter* by Toni Darney Schmiegelow, president of Darney & Associates, a black-owned public affairs firm whose political consulting services are targeted to black and Hispanic constituencies.)

Jackson's Support Grows in the Polls and Among Black Leaders

Support for presidential candidate JESSE JACKSON grew among blacks and whites in the past year, according to a JCPS/Gallup Poll survey conducted in August. In the 1987 survey, Jackson was the first choice of 67 percent of blacks but only 9 percent of whites to win the Democratic nomination; in the 1986 JCPS/Gallup survey Jackson was the first choice of 48 percent of blacks and 1 percent of whites. No other presidential contender was the first choice of more than 3 percent of blacks. Twenty-two percent of blacks reported preferring none of the Democratic contenders or were undecided. **Jackson's gain appears to be largely attributable to former Colorado Senator GARY HART's withdrawal and the decision by New York Gov. CUOMO not to run. In the 1986 survey, Hart was the first choice of 18 percent of blacks, and Cuomo was the first choice of 12 percent.**

Black Middle Class: Jackson scored his biggest gains among middle class blacks. For example, in the 1986 survey Jackson was the first choice of 53 percent of blacks with less than a high school education. By 1987, Jackson's support among this group had grown 16 percentage points, to 69 percent. His support among blacks with college degrees, however, had grown far more. In 1986, only 32 percent of blacks with college degrees said Jackson was their first choice. By 1987, the proportion had grown 32 percentage points, to 64 percent of blacks with college degrees.

White Supporters: **Among whites, Jackson's emphasis on farm issues and his campaigning among rural whites might be demonstrating some payoffs: Jackson is the first or second choice of 10 percent of whites living in central cities, 12 percent of whites living in suburbs, and 16 percent of whites living in rural areas.**

Black Leaders: When Rev. Jesse Jackson made his first bid for the Democratic presidential nomination in 1984, many black leaders made no bones about their opposition to Jackson's candidacy. **One big city mayor even said that he would declare a "Jesse Jackson Week" in his city—the day Jackson dropped out of the race.**

What a difference three years makes! This time around, one hears little on-the-record opposition from black leaders to Jackson's 1988 Democratic presidential nomination bid. On the contrary, **Jackson is garnering vocal support and early endorsements from some of the nation's most visible black leaders. Jackson**

has already won the firm support of 14 CBC members, all Democrats: WILLIAM CLAY (Mo.), JOHN CONYERS (Mich.), RON DELLUMS (Calif.), MERVYN DYMALLY (Calif.), WALTER FAUNTROY (D.C.), FLOYD FLAKE (N.Y.), HAROLD FORD (Tenn.), CHARLES HAYES (Ill.), MICKEY LELAND (Tex.), KWEISI MFUME (Md.), MAJOR OWENS (N.Y.), GUS SAVAGE (Ill.), LOUIS STOKES (Ohio), and ED TOWNS (N.Y.). Three other members of the CBC said they were likely to endorse Jackson later: CARDISS COLLINS (Ill.), MIKE ESPY (Miss.), and WILLIAM GRAY (Pa.). Only ALAN WHEAT of Missouri went on record as having endorsed another candidate, his fellow Missourian, RICHARD GEPHARDT, while the remaining five members of the CBC said they were remaining neutral for the time being.

In addition, **Jackson lined up the early endorsements of Mayor HAROLD WASHINGTON of Chicago, Mayor GEORGE LIVINGSTON of Richmond, California, Mayor RICHARD ARRINGTON of Birmingham, California Assembly Speaker WILLIE BROWN, and a host of other black leaders. Jackson's most recent endorsement came from the Alabama New South Coalition, which is headed by Birmingham Mayor Richard Arrington. In 1984 Arrington endorsed former vice-president WALTER MONDALE.**

Behind this change in black leadership response to the 1988 Jackson presidential candidacy are undoubtedly Jackson's frontrunner status in the polls, his continuing strong support from the vast majority of blacks, the failure of the other Democratic contenders to catch on among black and white Americans, and Jackson's own stroking of black leaders over the last three years in order to secure their support.

Still, there is the potential that black leaders' support for Jackson will come apart. Rumors abound about a latent disgruntlement among some of Jackson's strongest supporters in 1984, about the make-up and the key decision-makers in his campaign. At this writing, sources say the top positions— campaign manager, deputy directors for issues and media, secretaries for scheduling, comptroller, and treasurer—are all held by whites. However, a staff-person in Jackson's headquarters in Chicago reports that at present the campaign has no structure, and many staffing changes are being made. How these changes are made might well determine whether Jackson continues to enjoy the support of black leaders.

Across the Nation

ALABAMA: In a general election held on October 13, Birmingham's first black mayor, Richard Arrington, Jr., easily defeated three rivals to win a third four-year term. Arrington polled 51,850 votes, far ahead of his closest rival, Robert Mckee (R), a white lawyer, who had 28,642 votes. . . . Polls showed that Arrington got 98 percent of black votes but only about 10 percent of white support. Disappointed in the low level of white votes he received, Mayor Arrington told The *New York Times*, "They're still not comfortable with me. But I won't give up on them."

ARIZONA: Enough signatures have been collected to force an election that could oust Governor EVAN MEACHAM (R), who aroused opposition against him when he cancelled a holiday to honor the Rev Martin Luther King, Jr. The Mecham Recall Committee filed a recall petition with 388,988 signatures—more than the 216,746 that were needed. . . . Governor Meacham is also being investigated by a grand jury for reportedly failing to disclose a $350,000 campaign loan.

MISSISSIPPI: Two black candidates seeking statewide office were soundly defeated in the November 3 general elections. Veteran legislator HENRY KIRKSEY, who resigned his state senate seat to seek the lieutenant governorship as an independent candidate, got about 10 percent of the vote, and Republican WILBUR COLOM, who was the party's unopposed nominee for state treasurer, got about 20 percent of the vote.

OHIO: In Akron, city councilmember BARBARA SYKES (D) defeated Republican James Laria in the election for an at-large council seat to became the first black woman elected to citywide office. Councilmember Sykes had been appointed to the at-large seat in February 1987 when the former occupant, DON PLUSQUELIC, became mayor.

PENNSYLVANIA: Pittsburgh Mayor RICHARD CALIGUIRI has announced a three-step "strengthened response" to race related conflict after a rash of racial incidents in the city. The mayor's plan includes educating police officers about the state's Ethnic Intimidation and Institutional Vandalism Act, which stiffens penalties for crimes committed with racial or ethnic malice; improving communications between the Public Safety Department and the Human Relations Commission about incidents with possible racial overtones "so the resources of the commission, neighborhood organizations and [the mayor's] office can be used hopefully to prevent, but ultimately to deal with, incidents as they arise," and appealing to neighborhood groups to "work to improve human relations."

VIRGINIA: WILLIAM T. NEWMAN, 37, an attorney, was elected as the first black county board member for Arlington County since Reconstruction. He joined four other Democrats on the board, all of whose members are elected at-large. . . . Newman told the *Washington Post* he hoped his election would inspire other minority candidates, "making them more aware politically and anxious to participate in the whole political process."

A circuit court judge in Portsmouth has ordered that a recall election be held Dec. 15 for Portsmouth Mayor JAMES HOLLEY III after hearing that 9,171 registered voters had signed petitions seeking Holley's ouster. Supporters of the recall drive needed the signature of 8,869 registered voters in the city for a special election to be held. The recall drive began in July following a police investigation which showed that Holley's fingerprints allegedly were on hate mail sent to community leaders (including some blacks). Holley has denied any wrongdoing and rejected the city council's request that he resign. Moreover, supporters of Holley say he is being persecuted since he has not been charged with any crime. Holley has also said that many of the signatures on the recall petition were improper and should be dismissed. He is appealing the judge's decision and seeking to block the election.

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TL = TrendLetter

FIFTH NATIONAL POLICY INSTITUTE

Over 1,000 black elected and appointed officials are expected to attend the Fifth National Policy Institute (NPI V), a JCPS-sponsored conference that will be held at the Grand Hyatt Hotel, Washington, D.C., January 20-23, 1988 (see "Perspective," page 2). Those who have not yet signed up may do so by completing and returning the forms below by January 5, 1988.

Concurrent Workshops:

In order to facilitate conference planning, please indicate your workshop preferences (please select one from each group):

Thursday, January 21

Group A 10:30 a.m.-12:00 noon
____ A-1 The Changing Nature of the Black Family
____ A-2 The Role of the Church in Black Community Life
____ A-3 Black Philanthropy: The Legacy Continues
____ A-4 Pre-Natal and Infant Care: Nurturing Our Future
____ A-5 The Urban Underclass: What Is to be Done?

Group B 3:00-4:45 p.m.
____ B-1 The Census/ Reapportionment
____ B-2 Voter Participation/Voter Mobilization
____ B-3 Blacks and Higher Education
____ B-4 AIDS and the Black Community
____ B-5 Hazardous Waste—The Silent Killer

Friday, January 22

Group C 10:00-11:45 a.m.
____ C-1 Public/Private Financing of Government Services
____ C-2 The Low-Income Housing Crisis
____ C-3 Economic Policy Agenda: Employment Implications for Blacks
____ C-4 The Plight of the Black Elderly
____ C-5 Criminal Justice and the Black Community

Group D 2:30-4:15 p.m.
____ D-1 Addressing the Needs of Black Rural America
____ D-2 Teenage Pregnancy Prevention
____ D-3 Attacking Crime in the Black Community
____ D-4 International Affairs: We Are the World
____ D-5 Effective Education Strategies: What Works?

Group E 4:30-5:45 p.m.
____ E-1 Black Public Officials and the Education Reform Movements
____ E-2 Increasing Opportunities for Minority Business
____ E-3 Substance Abuse: Public Policy Implications
____ E-4 Welfare Reform
____ E-5 Health Issues in the Black Community

Special Activities:

Note: The conference registration fee entitles the registrant to attend the following special activities. Please indicate all events that you plan to attend:

____ Luncheon Thursday, Jan. 21 12:30-2:30 p.m.
Salute to Dr. Martin Luther King, Jr. Sponsored by the Congressional Black Caucus

____ Women's Caucus Breakfast Friday, Jan. 22 8:00-9:45 a.m.

____ Luncheon Friday, Jan. 22 12 noon-2:00 p.m.

____ Reception Friday, Jan. 22 6:30-9:30 p.m.
Hosted by The Mayor of the District of Columbia

____ General Session Saturday, Jan. 23 10:00 a.m.-12 noon
The Prosecution/Persecution of Black Elected Officials: A Double Standard? and The 1988 Elections: Implications for Black America

All mail registrations must be accompanied by payment and received by January 5, 1988. Send to: NPI V Registrar, JCPS, 1301 Pa. Ave., N.W., Suite 400, Washington, D.C. 20004.

JCPS's 11th Annual Dinner to Salute Black Elected Officials

The Joint Center for Political Studies' Eleventh Annual Dinner will be held on Thursday, January 21, 1988, at the Grand Hyatt Hotel, Washington, D.C. The dinner theme is "A Salute to Black Elected Officials." Mayor Tom Bradley is serving as the master of ceremonies.

James D. Robinson III, chairman of American Express, is national dinner chairman. Attorney Robert B. Washington, Jr., of the firm of Finley, Kumble, Wagner, Heine, Underberg, Manley, Myerson & Casey, is chairing the General Dinner Committee.

Tickets are priced at $250 each. Sponsor's tables of 10 are $5,000; and patron's tables of 10 are $2,500.

In addition to the support of American Express Company, several corporations have already reserved sponsor's tables including: American International Group, Inc.; AT&T; Anheuser- Busch; ARCO; Arthur Andersen & Co; Bozell, Jacobs, Kenyon & Eckhardt; The Coca-Cola Company; Consolidated Edison; DuPont Company; The Equitable; Fannie Mae; Federal Express; Forbes Magazine; Ford Motor Company; Kissinger Associates; MCA, Inc.; Metropolitan Life; Mobil Oil; Mutual of Omaha; NYNEX; Philip Morris Companies, Inc.; Price Waterhouse; RJR Nabisco; The Travelers Companies; TWA; Union Pacific; and Warner Communications.

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FIFTH NATIONAL POLICY INSTITUTE

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Register Early! All mail registrations must be accompanied by payment and received by January 5, 1988.

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Dr. Martin Luther King, Jr.: His Legacy Continues

Taking History to Court

Expert Witness Tells How to Collect Historical Evidence of Discriminatory Intent in Voting Rights Lawsuits

Voting Rights: The Fight Moves North

Black Political Activists Break New Ground as They Win Voting Rights Cases Outside of Dixie

POLITICAL TRENDLETTER

Perspective

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A Growing Black Vote: Dr. King's Legacy

Every January we celebrate the birth of Martin Luther King, Jr. In many different ways we pay tribute to his leadership, his vision, his courage, and to his commitment to use political power and public office to pursue justice and equality.

As we begin the long-awaited 1988 presidential election year, it is especially important to remember that Dr. King gave focus and leadership to our quest for political empowerment. He believed, as one historian wrote, that "racial compassion had to be reenforced by old fashioned American political *quid pro quo*." King himself once observed: "Our nettlesome task is to discover how to organize our strength into compelling power."

In every election, blacks must continue to organize and enhance their political strength in search of compelling power. The 1988 presidential election is no exception. In fact there are several reasons why we might see a major upsurge in black political participation in November.

The fact that this is Ronald Reagan's last year in the White House provides strong political motivation. The Reagan years have been especially hard for most blacks. The White House not only ceased to be a bulwark against racism, it actually tried to undo some previous civil rights gains. President Reagan cannot sing his swan song soon enough for most blacks.

Ironically, Mr. Reagan's final year in office helps to set the stage for black voters to exercise far more leverage in selecting the next president than their numbers might suggest. Two factors lead one to this conclusion: a popular incumbent president will not be seeking reelection, and it appears, even before the first primaries and caucuses are held, that no matter who gets the Republican and Democratic presidential nominations the election will be closely contested. In such elections the black vote can be pivotal, as it was in the elections of 1948, 1960, and 1976, which were decided by a small plurality.

In addition to wanting to drive a political stake in the heart of the "Reagan revolution," blacks also are focusing on the presidential election because Jesse Jackson is their overwhelming favorite, and because his candidacy is expected to motivate large numbers of blacks to register and vote.

Recent trends suggest that black voters are indeed continuing to mobilize their political strength. Twenty years ago the black voter registration rate was 9.2 percentage points below that of whites, and turnout was 11.5 percentage points below the white rate. In 1980 this gap started to close, and in 1984 black registration was only 3.3 points below white registration and black turnout was only 5.6 points below white turnout. This dramatic closing of the gap results from major increases in black voter participation while whites were recording only small gains. In 1980 and 1984 the average rates of increase in black registration and turnout were more than three times greater than the corresponding rates for whites.

Political empowerment in the American system of governance is a function of a number of complex factors, including voter participation, voter motivation and mobilization, electing responsive candidates, and removing barriers to participation. The task is indeed "nettlesome," as Dr. King warned, but this is a task we must face and accomplish—in 1988, to be sure, but in every election in the future as well. ■

Eddie N. Williams

PRESIDENT

FOCUS

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Dr. Martin Luther King, Jr.: His Legacy Continues

by Roger Witherspoon

Twenty years ago, an assassin's bullet ended the life of Dr. Martin Luther King, Jr., and marked the beginning of the end of one of the most tumultuous chapters in American history.

In terms of social and political disruption and realignment, no decade—except the decades encompassing the Civil War and the American Revolution—matches the impact of the 1960s in shaping American history.

At the center of this massive social and political fire storm was the young preacher from Atlanta, Dr. King, whose personal vision and drive helped forge a movement that forced the nation to confront an oppressive reality, a reality Dr. King knew it had to overcome to achieve the greatness it claimed to strive for. It is that vision and all-consuming dedication to freeing the nation from its inner divisions, constraints, and hypocrisies that earned Dr. King recognition as one of America's greatest citizens.

Dr. King's preeminence does not detract from the personal drive, sacrifice, and work of the black civil rights pioneers who preceded him or the contemporaries who teamed with him or organized their own regions. The major northern cities, for example, were integrated in the 1940s by local protests at downtown establishments, beginning with the sit-in of Chicago's James Farmer of the pacifist Fellowship of Reconciliation, which evolved into the Congress of Racial Equality (CORE). But those efforts produced local successes, not movement for national change.

Indeed, many of Dr. King's campaigns could not have succeeded without the efforts of the Student Nonviolent Coordinating Committee (SNCC), the NAACP, and many others. What set Dr. King apart, however, was his ability to pull these disparate groups and leaders to his side to work together on specific political campaigns. He built on the experiences of others to mold an ongoing movement that used nonviolence and faith in humanity and in the judicial system to win the day.

The Montgomery bus boycott, which propelled the young minister onto the national stage by 1957 is a case in point. The NAACP had been in Alabama since 1920, but was fragmented and had been active only in the courts. The Citizens Committee represented only a handful of black voters, as did E. D. Nixon's Progressive Democrats. The Women's Political Council, which demanded the boycott when Rosa Parks was arrested on December 1, 1955, for refusing to vacate her bus seat for a white man, did not have the power to galvanize other organizations to support its plan. The Women's Political Council thus turned to Nixon, who agreed to back a boycott. Nixon called a community meeting at Dexter Baptist Church with Dr. King who, although aligned with no organization, was respected by all. Dr. King's task was to hold these myriad groups together throughout the boycott and prove to all segments of a downtrodden black community that a concerted effort is stronger than individual philosophies or styles. His success in accomplishing that task stamped him as a force around which to mobilize a people.

His decision to institutionalize that experience by forming the Southern Christian Leadership Conference and, later, his decision to assist in the founding of SNCC, ensured the development of a movement that would transcend his persona and forever change the relationship between citizens and their government.

Dr. King's push for justice and equality went far beyond the struggle for "civil rights," however, and his efforts have served as a model for today's leaders. Dr. King realized that making his "dream" of equality come alive would also require a strategy that guaranteed all people the right to political and economic participation. Thus, he called for blacks to become more involved in the electoral process by voting and running for political office. And he organized economic boycotts, not only in the South, but in the North as well, in an attempt to address economic disparities.

In addition, he saw that America needed to alter those foreign policies that are based on supremacy. In this light, he was one of America's first leaders to call on U.S. officials to end all ties with the South African government and to support the imposition of international sanctions. He also appealed to the nation's leaders to end their involvement in the Vietnam War. Dr. King's attempt to bring about solutions to these domestic and international concerns was an integral part of his quest for world peace, and his goals are now a bench mark for black leaders.

His indelible legacy is that, as a result of a movement aimed at the conscience of the nation, no government policy—from war to commerce—would ever again be separated from its moral ramifications. ■

The author, an editorial writer for the *Dallas Times-Herald*, is the author of *Martin Luther King, Jr. . . . To the Mountaintop.*

Taking History to Court

Expert Witness Tells How to Collect Historical Evidence of Discriminatory Intent in Voting Rights Lawsuits

by Peyton McCrary

What at first seems a great burden can sometimes prove to be an unexpected boon. The intent standard—once viewed as a major barrier to the voting rights of minorities—is now providing an important new avenue to victory for black plaintiffs challenging the use of at-large elections in the South.

The Intent Standard: From Burden to Boon

When the U.S. Supreme Court handed down its landmark decision in *City of Mobile v. Bolden* in the spring of 1980, many observers thought it represented a crushing setback for the voting rights of minorities. In *Bolden,* the Court established a more difficult standard of proof than had previously been required for challenging electoral procedures, such as at-large elections, that dilute the votes of an ethnic minority. The Court agreed with the plaintiff's charge that it was impossible for blacks to elect a representative of their choice in Mobile's citywide election because the white majority voted as a bloc. However, the Court ruled that it was not sufficient to show that an at-large election system has a discriminatory *effect.* Under the standard established by the Court—the intent standard—plaintiffs were required to prove that the at-large election system was adopted or maintained for a racially discriminatory *purpose.*

When the case was tried again in 1981 (on remand to the federal district court in Mobile), the plaintiffs prevailed under the new intent standard as clearly as they had under the old effects test. I was the historian who was called on to piece together the complex electoral history of the city between the Reconstruction period and 1911, the year the city changed from a ward election system to an at-large system, and I found myself in uncharted territory. Nevertheless, with the help of two research assistants and after spending hundreds of hours reading statute books and newspapers, I uncovered evidence of discriminatory intent. In 1911, whites had indeed been concerned about black electoral influence under the ward election system, and this concern had prompted their decision to adopt at-large elections. (For a discussion of how evidence of discriminatory intent in voting rights cases is gathered, see box on page 5.)

One year later, the Congress amended Section 2 of the Voting Rights Act to make clear that it had sought to outlaw election practices that had a discriminatory effect, without requiring proof of discriminatory intent. The Congress was concerned about the amount of time and expense required to bring voting rights cases under the intent standard. The Congress also doubted that historical evidence, like that gathered in the second *Bolden* trial, was relevant to the constitutionality of present-day election procedures.

Nevertheless, although lawyers are no longer required to offer proof of discriminatory intent to win voter discrimination suits, they still often choose to present such evidence, for several reasons. First, lawyers want more than one arrow in their quiver; if they confront a judge with evidence of discriminatory intent along with evidence of discriminatory effect, they are more likely to win. Second, the statistical analysis needed to demonstrate that voting is racially polarized, which is necessary under the effects test, has become very expensive over the last five years. In contrast, research on discriminatory intent has become less expensive as experts have acquired more knowledge about the history of at-large elections. Third, proof of discriminatory intent often makes a profound impression on a court.

Finally, with the discriminatory intent standard, an entirely new type of lawsuit is now possible. Since it is relatively easy and inexpensive to gather evidence of discriminatory intent, it has become feasible to challenge election procedures statewide, rather than locally on a case-by-case basis. This can be especially advantageous in multi-jurisdictional cases in which the time and money required to gather evidence of racially polarized voting to prove discriminatory effect would be prohibitive. Discriminatory election procedures are being challenged statewide, for example, in Alabama, involving some 200 county commissions, school boards, and municipal governments (*Dillard v. Crenshaw County*), and in Virginia, involving the state's 145 school boards (*Irby v. Fitzhugh*).

"Smoking-Gun" Evidence in Alabama and Virginia

The case in which historical evidence of discriminatory intent has played the most crucial role is *Dillard v. Crenshaw County.* In 1985, black plaintiffs in Alabama challenged the use of at-large elections in

(Continued on page 5)

Peyton McCrary, the JCPS Distinguished Scholar for 1987-88, is a professor of history at the University of South Alabama. He frequently testifies as an expert history witness in voting rights cases in the South and is writing a book on the racially discriminatory uses of at-large elections.

January 1988

JCPS

POLITICAL TRENDLETTER

Inside This Issue

- Jesse Jackson is the favorite among black Americans according to the JCPS/Gallup survey; other Democratic presidential candidates did not fare as well.
- The FBI's *Fruhmenschen* policy of investigating black officials without cause gives credence to the charge of harassment by the Bureau.
- Across the Nation, Clarence Mitchell convicted in Maryland; discriminatory voter registration laws struck down in Mississippi; New York tries postcard registration; election roundup.

On the Presidential Campaign Trail...

The long pre-season of the 1988 presidential race has finally come to an end. **The formal nomination process begins in February and will not be completed until the Democratic National Convention in Atlanta (July 18-21) and the Republican National Convention in New Orleans (August 15-18).** From now until August, the campaign will no longer be a popularity contest conducted through the media and public opinion polls but rather a battle for delegates won at the ballot box.

TL will follow the caucuses and primaries throughout the next five months, including the Iowa caucuses (Feb. 8), the New Hampshire primary (Feb. 16), and other early races as they unfold in South Dakota, Minnesota, Maine, and Wyoming. In all of these states, blacks comprise 1 percent or less of the total voting-age populations, but comprise significant proportions of selected precincts in key cities such as Davenport, Des Moines, and Waterloo in Iowa. Such precincts will be analyzed as our first indicator of black voter preferences in the delegate selection process. **The first real demonstration of black voting strength, however, will not occur until "Super Tuesday" (March 8) when 14 Deep South and Border states**—most with large black populations—and six non-southern states hold their caucuses or primaries.

As a lead-in to analyses in the coming months, *TL* presents a special thumbnail sketch of the seven Democrats currently seeking their party's presidential nomination. In February, we will provide a similar sketch of the Republican presidential nomination contenders. Analysis of black support is based on a JCPS/Gallup survey conducted in August 1987. The survey is the most recent and most comprehensive national sampling of black opinion on the presidential contenders. As expected, the poll revealed **JESSE JACKSON** to be the first choice among more than two-thirds of all blacks. **Descriptions of how each of the Democrats fared are presented below in alphabetical order.**

Democratic Candidates

BRUCE BABBITT: Former Arizona Gov. Babbitt is considered to be the dark horse in the race. Although he usually runs at the bottom in most surveys and has never risen above single digit support, recent polls in Iowa show Babbitt improving his position there. Babbitt, who calls himself the "honest one," says he will raise taxes to balance the budget while increasing spending on education and other social programs. Only if he does surprisingly well in the early primaries is he likely to remain in the race. Thus, Iowa and New Hampshire are especially important to his presidential ambitions. Coming from a state with a population that is only about 3 percent black, Babbitt has very low name recognition among blacks (only 15 percent of blacks said they had heard of Babbitt in August), and only 3 percent of black Democrats said Babbitt would be their first or second choice. If Babbitt comes in at least third in Iowa, his campaign would get a big shot of adrenalin.

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MICHAEL DUKAKIS: Still running second or third in most national polls, Massachusetts Gov. Dukakis has based his candidacy on his ability to make things work in his state with its surging economic growth, its low unemployment rates, and its education and training program which transforms welfare mothers into working mothers. Dukakis faces the challenge of convincing voters that his administration would be as successful if he were president. His campaign strategy hinges heavily on winning big in neighboring New Hampshire, where he continues to lead in the polls. Massachusetts, like Arizona, is a state with a relatively small black population—4 percent of the state's total. In August, only 17 percent of blacks nationally said they had heard of Dukakis, and only 4 percent of black Democrats ranked him as their first or second choice for the nomination. Yet Dukakis, who is popular with black Bostonians, may very well have a good chance with black voters if he can make himself and his policies well known. Detroit **MAYOR COLEMAN YOUNG** has said that Dukakis may be a good choice for his endorsement. Dukakis has raised $8 million, far more than all other Democratic contenders, according to the October 1987 Federal Election Commission quarterly report. He can afford to hire a lot of campaign organizers and buy a lot of TV ads.

RICHARD GEPHARDT: A six-term Missouri congressman and Democratic Caucus chair in the House of Representatives, **Gephardt has been an announced candidate since February 1987, longer than any other Democrat in the race. Nevertheless, he is having a hard time improving his ranking in the polls. While he has recently polled well in Iowa, he has not been the front-runner or even the number two in any major national poll.** Political observers think that Gephardt must come in first or second in Iowa and/or do surprisingly well in New Hampshire or his days as a contender for the Democratic presidential nomination are numbered. Gephardt hails from a state with more blacks than Babbitt's Arizona or Dukakis's Massachusetts. Missouri's voting-age population is 7 percent black with large concentrations in St. Louis and Kansas City. **And with the endorsement of fellow Missouri Democrat and Congressional Black Caucus member ALAN WHEAT, Gephardt has the distinction of being the only contender other than Jesse Jackson, who has the support of a member of the CBC. Yet, Gephardt's name recognition among blacks in August was only 21 percent, and he was the preferred first and/or second choice of only 4 percent of black Democrats.**

ALBERT GORE, JR.: Tennessee Sen. Gore would obviously like to strike a spark in the southern states that vote on Super Tuesday. While Gore rates high among liberal groups, he is positioning himself to the right of the other Democratic contenders on defense, but is in step with them on domestic policy. Gore, like Babbitt, has remained near the bottom of the list in most national polls. **But there are indications that his popularity in the South has begun to take-off.** In an early October poll conducted by the Roper Organization for the *Atlanta Constitution and Journal*, Gore led Jackson among blacks in Tennessee. He also ran ahead of Jackson among the entire electorate in neighboring Kentucky and polled among the top three candidates in several other southern states.

Surprisingly, Gore does not have the support of fellow Tennessee Congressman HAROLD FORD. Memphis' only black Congressman recently added his name to the long list of CBC endorsers of Jackson. Still, Gore does seem to be gaining some support among southern black leaders. He may be the beneficiary of a dual endorsement strategy that some black leaders are pushing to endorse both Jackson and a white candidate. And recently, rumors surfaced that prominent black Alabama Democrats may give their endorsement to Gore outright. If such sentiment grows in Alabama and spreads to other southern states, it may very well end up causing Jackson some "southern discomfort" on Super Tuesday. By last August, however, only 20 percent of blacks nationally had heard of Gore, and he was the combined first and second choice of only 6 percent of black Democrats.

GARY HART: The strangest campaign of all has been the in-again-out-again campaign of former Colorado Sen. Hart. Hart, who came in second in the 1984 Democratic presidential nomination campaign, was front-runner in early national polling for the 1988 race until the scandal involving marital infidelity, judgment, and character forced him out of the race. Surprising almost all the political pundits, Hart reentered the race last November—just in time to qualify for the early caucuses and primaries. Hart continues to claim to be the candidate of "new ideas" for ending the nation's federal and trade deficits, producing more jobs, and implementing a better educational system. Having replaced Jackson as the front-runner in the most recent national polls, Hart has become the candidate most of the other Democratic contenders love to hate. **And he has been lumped with Jackson in the eyes of some pundits as unelectable, a label that will be difficult for Hart to overcome. In addition, recent charges of campaign financing irregularities may drain some of Hart's support.**

In 1984, Hart was anything but popular with blacks—winning only 3 percent of the black vote compared to Mondale's 19 percent and Jackson's 77 percent. Since he was out of the race in August 1987, no polling of his name recognition or Democratic support was done in the JCPS/Gallup survey.

JESSE JACKSON: Rev. Jackson, who was also a candidate in 1984, was the Democratic front-runner in national polls for several months after Hart dropped out of the race. With Hart's reentry, however, Jackson has become second in most national polls. During the spring and summer of 1987, Jackson ranked near the top in several Iowa polls as well, but recently he has been coming in fourth or fifth in Iowa.

It is no surprise that **the former civil rights leader's name is recognized by 96 percent of blacks, and he is the preferred first or second choice of 78 percent of black Democrats.** And Jackson has the lion's share of support from black elected officials and political leaders, many of whom did not favor him in 1984. As previous editions of *TL* have pointed out, however, **there is a group of black leaders who remain nonaligned** (particularly southerners like **LIEUTENANT GOVERNOR DOUGLAS WILDER** in Virginia, Little Rock **MAYOR LOTTIE SHACKLEFORD,** and several of Atlanta's black leaders).

Jackson's chances for the nomination revolve around winning new white voters and securing an exceptionally high black voter turnout—especially on Super Tuesday. Yet sources close to the Jackson campaign fear that he has spent so much time trying to expand his base that he has failed to organize in black communities.

PAUL SIMON: When Illinois Sen. Simon entered the presidential race, few observers gave him even the slightest chance of winning. **But Simon has beaten the odds in recent national surveys by often running second or third. Saying he is "not a neo-anything," Simon unabashedly embraces traditional Democratic values.** Among blacks, who benefited politically and economically from the New Deal and its progressive updates in the Kennedy and Johnson years, Simon may very well find significant support. In August 1987, 40 percent of blacks nationally said they had heard of him, and he was the combined first and second choice of 14 percent of blacks. While this remains a small percentage of black support, it was second only to Jackson's total. Simon should be a strong contender for a good share of the 20 to 30 percent of black voters not committed to Jackson. Clearly, this would help him on Super Tuesday.

In sum, with the exception of Jesse Jackson, the Democratic contenders are not well known to most black Americans. But, undoubtedly, the next few months' pursuit of delegates will make at least the front-runners household names in the black community. **Whether any of the Democratic presidential candidates will be able to substantially challenge Jackson for black support is open to conjecture. It is also unclear how the votes of those blacks who are not supporting Jackson will be distributed among the other candidates.** The answers to these questions and other major campaign issues will be revealed as the primary season progresses.

A Smoking Gun in the BEO Harassment Issue

A former Federal Bureau of Investigation (FBI) undercover agent, HIRSCH FRIEDMAN, stated in a sworn affidavit in December 1987 that the FBI had an "unofficial" policy called *Fruhmenschen,* which consists of the "routine investigation without probable cause of prominent black elected and appointed officials in major metropolitan areas throughout the United States." *Fruhmenschen,* a derogatory term used to describe black people by the FBI, is a German word which means "early men." In the affidavit submitted in the ongoing court proceedings against Fulton **COUNTY COMMISSIONER A. REGINALD EAVES** for alleged bribery before a federal district court in Atlanta, Friedman said his understanding was that **the basis for such a policy was the assumption by the FBI that "black officials were intellectually and socially incapable of governing major governmental organizations and institutions."** Friedman, an attorney in private practice in Atlanta said in the affidavit that in the early 1980s, the Bureau told him to go after black officials identified by FBI code words: "blue eyes, green eyes, and brown eyes." According to Friedman's testimony, blue eyes referred to **ELDRIN BELL,** a top-ranking police official; green eyes referred to then **MAYOR MAYNARD JACKSON;** and brown eyes referred to A. Reginald Eaves, who is presently under indictment. Friedman added that "the investigation had targeted these particular individuals with the aim of prosecuting them if possible, although there was no probable cause to have started the investigation." **Friedman noted that during the same time period when black elected officials were being investigated, "over a dozen indictable cases against white elected and appointed officials in Georgia were dropped."** Friedman said that the ***Fruhmenschen*** policy was in effect during the entire three-year period that he worked for the FBI, beginning 1979, and remained in operation at the time his relationship with the bureau ended in 1982. Friedman's affidavit is being used by defense attorneys in a number of cases where black officials are being prosecuted, including the cases of Eaves and former state **SEN. CLARENCE MITCHELL** of Maryland (see "Maryland" story below). Further evidence of such a policy would clearly corroborate a growing number of claims by black elected officials that they have been treated unjustly by the Justice Department, of which the FBI is a component, and other law enforcement agencies.

Across the Nation

MARYLAND: The trials and tribulations of former state **SEN. CLARENCE MITCHELL III** continue. Earlier, he and his brother, state **SEN. MICHAEL MITCHELL,** had been convicted of accepting $50,000 to cloak a congressional probe of the scandal-scarred New York-based Wedtech Corp. They were appealing that conviction when **Clarence Mitchell was convicted on January 29 of conspiracy and obstructing a grand jury investigation of his business ties with convicted Baltimore drug dealer MELVIN (LITTLE MELVIN) WILLIAMS.**

Mitchell charges that he is a victim of a Reagan administration plot to discredit black elected officials. On hearing the verdict, Mitchell said, "I expected it. The prosecution intimidated our witnesses. They withheld evidence. This is round one. Round two is the appeal."

Neither of the Mitchell brothers has been sentenced yet. Clarence could be sentenced to a maximum of 10 years and Michael 15 in the Wedtech case and Clarence could receive up to 5 years and a fine of $250,000 for each count in the later conviction (see "Smoking Gun. . . ." above).

MISSISSIPPI: Attorneys **FRANK PARKER** of the Lawyers' Committee for Civil Rights Under Law and **JUDITH REED** of the NAACP Legal Defense and Education Fund have racked up another victory for expanding voting rights. **JUDGE GLEN DAVIDSON'S ruling on November 16, 1987, in the case, *Operation PUSH v Allain,* was the first federal district court decision to strike down discriminatory dual location voter registration statutes and practices allowing county clerks to limit the times that registration can take place.** Mississippi's dual registration system requires citizens to register both at the county courthouse—to vote in federal, state, and county elections—and at city halls for local elections. The case also challenged Mississippi statutes which permit county clerks to restrict registration to only business hours during weekdays. This requirement has had a negative impact on many blacks who could not get time off from their jobs in order to register. Judge Davidson gave the governor and legislature of Mississippi 120 days to correct the defects he found in the statutes.

NEW YORK: With its relatively low voter registration among blacks and whites, **New York has come up with a new way to intensify its campaign to add to the voter registration rolls.** Encouraged by **MAYOR ED KOCH** and non-partisan voter registration organizations, New York Senators **DANIEL MOYNIHAN (D) and ALFONSE D'AMATO (R) have agreed to use their congressional postage franking privileges for mass mailings to encourage two million of the Big Apple's citizens to register to vote** by February 19. The 19th is the registration deadline for citizens to be eligible to vote in the state's April 19 presidential primary. If the drive is successful, some voter registration activists such as **LINDA DAVIDOFF,** director of Human SERVE, believe it could become a national model for enfranchising big-city voters who have never bothered to register. As the plan's centerpiece, Moynihan and D'Amato are to use their frank to send two postage-paid forms, in English and Spanish, to every city household. Citizens eligible to vote need only fill out the forms and drop them in the nearest mail box.

NORTH CAROLINA: With an overwhelming black voter turnout, **city council member ED CARTER upset white incumbent LES GARNER, who was seeking his second two-year term in November, to become Greenville's first black mayor in the twentieth century.** A two-term council member and one-time mayor pro tem, Carter defeated Garner by fewer than 300 votes.

In other news, although black incumbent **MAYOR HARVEY GANTT** lost his reelection bid, **ELLA SCARBOROUGH made history in Charlotte in the November election by winning the third district seat on the city council** and thus becoming the city's first black elected female council member. Scarborough is presently employed by the Duke Power Co. as a librarian.

OHIO: In November 1987, JUDGE NADINE ALLEN, a Democrat, became the first black person to be elected to a contested countywide office in predominantly white, Republican Hamilton County (Cincinnati). She carried white and black, poor and rich, suburban and inner-city neighborhoods in her successful campaign to win a seat on the Hamilton County Municipal Court. Overall, Allen received 58 percent of the votes cast in her judicial race—and more votes than any other candidate in the three county-wide judicial races on the ballot. Allen first ran for the municipal court in 1984 and was defeated. She was later appointed to the post by Gov. **RICHARD CELESTE** in January 1985 but lost the election the following November by a narrow margin. Gov. Celeste appointed her again in April 1987. **Allen's third try for election came in the midst of a civil rights lawsuit by black Ohio state REP. WILLIAM MALLORY (D-Cincinnati) and others challenging the system of electing municipal judges in Hamilton County.** Citing the failure by blacks to win any judicial elections in Hamilton County the suit seeks a court-ordered change to a district system that would ensure the election of some blacks to the bench. Running against Allen were black Republican **VICKIE WHITFIELD** and white Independent **DANIEL BREYER.**

The Democratic and Republican parties had each agreed to run black candidates in the election because no black had ever won a county-wide judicial seat in a race against a white opponent. Thus, it was a race that was supposed to ensure the election of Hamilton County's first black judge. In the end, Breyer got 24 percent of the vote and Whitfield 21 percent. Seventy-two percent of the county is white and 28 percent is black. How the race will affect the ultimate outcome of Rep. Mallory's lawsuit is unclear at this time. Nationally, blacks account for fewer than 4 percent of all judges, and black women comprise fewer than 1 percent.

VIRGINIA: Portsmouth's first black mayor, JAMES HOLLEY, was ousted from office in a recall election last December 15. Holley, a dentist and longtime civil rights activist, had been accused of sending hate mail to community leaders (including six blacks) who opposed Holley's order to close a predominantly black high school. In the recall election, 58 percent of voters favored removing Holley from office while 42 percent supported him. Holley, who denies sending the hate mail, has not ruled out running for office again, perhaps as early as the city council elections in May.

In November, **WILLIAM NEWMAN** became Arlington county's first black board member since Reconstruction. He is also the first representative on the five member board in decades who hails from the southern part of the county, which is generally less affluent than the northern part. Blacks compose about 9 percent of the total population in Arlington County, which elects its board members on an at-large basis.

Taking History to Court

(Continued from page 4)

nine counties, relying primarily on expert testimony from historians concerning discriminatory intent. I testified before federal judge Myron Thompson in Montgomery on the state's policy of using at-large elections, "anti-single- shot" laws, and a statewide "numbered-place" requirement for the explicit purpose of preventing black electoral representation. The evidence I presented was the "smoking-gun" variety about which lawyers dream.

The most dramatic part of the evidence concerned barriers that the state had erected to preclude single-shot voting. Single-shot voting works this way: if four city council seats are to be filled in an at-large election and one of the candidates is black, blacks have a better chance of electing that person by voting for him or her only, instead of voting for all four candidates. Single-shot voting can be prevented, however, if a law is passed that disqualifies ballots on which votes have been cast for less than the full slate.

In 1951, Representative Sam Engelhardt, a white planter in black-majority Macon County, persuaded the Alabama legislature to pass such a full-slate law for all municipalities in the state. One of his fellow legislators explained that the full-slate law was adopted because "there are some who fear that the colored voters might be able to elect one of their own race to the [Tuskegee] city council by 'single-shot' voting."

In 1961, in an effort to head off future challenges, the Alabama legislature repealed Engelhardt's anti-single-shot measure and replaced it with a new statute, one less likely to attract court scrutiny, that requires numbered places to be used in all elections for local governing or legislative seats when more than one office is to be filled. In other words, candidates are required to qualify for a specific place (seat number 1, seat number 2, etc.), and voters must vote for one candidate for each place. This law is still in effect and precludes the possibility of single-shot voting.

The discriminatory purpose of this esoteric election procedure was made clear in a revealing speech that I found buried in the state archives. In January 1962, party official Frank Mizell of Montgomery had explained to the State Democratic Executive Committee why the legislature had enacted the numbered-place requirement: "Now as you all know, the law against single-shot votes has been repealed." As a result, said Mizell,

(Continued on back page)

Gathering Evidence of Discriminatory Intent

Historians have served as expert witnesses on the issue of discriminatory intent in at least 25 separate cases since 1980, and their testimony has usually led to the adoption of single-member district plans. The research necessary for proving discriminatory intent, once seen as so time-consuming, expensive, and futile, now seems routine and productive. As a frequent witness in cases in which discriminatory intent was alleged, I have developed a standard methodology for conducting research on the adoption and maintenance of at-large elections and other procedures that are used to prevent black electoral representation. Because this type of research is familiar to few historians or political scientists, I will explain my methods here.

The first step is to search the state codes and session laws for legislation affecting the method of electing members to local governing bodies such as city councils, county commissions, or school boards. Usually such local laws were adopted under the local courtesy rule, by which the legislature defers to the wishes of the county delegation. Occasionally, the legislature may adopt statewide laws requiring all local governing bodies to be elected at-large, by a majority vote, or under a numbered-place system. In some cases, an appointive procedure is adopted (or eliminated). Every instance of change in the method of choosing public officials offers a point of departure for research on the question of intent.

The researcher then reads the local newspaper coverage of the decision-making process, examines election returns before and after the change, searches for reports of consulting firms hired to examine the proposed change, and looks at official minutes. Sometimes transcripts of interviews and depositions prove useful. Historians, who are often called on to do the research and to testify in these cases, are trained to evaluate such documentary evidence and the circumstances behind governmental and political decisions.

Sometimes evidence of discriminatory intent is uncovered but no "smoking gun" is found. However, if circumstantial evidence clearly shows that legislators intentionally adopted a different type of electoral system with the knowledge that it would dilute the votes of the black minority, then no smoking gun is required. In such cases, historical testimony can be crucial in evaluating what the courts call "the totality of circumstances" behind the adoption or maintenance of at-large elections. Sometimes, of course, even after much conscientious research, no evidence of discriminatory intent is found. In several instances in which I have concluded that there was no evidence of discriminatory intent, the lawyer who engaged my services did not put me on the stand. The attorneys with whom I have worked know that only a witness who testifies honestly about the evidence can convince the judge of the validity of that evidence.

Voting Rights: The Fight Moves North

Black Political Activists Break New Ground as They Win Voting Rights Cases Outside of Dixie

by Sandra Featherman

When the Voting Rights Act (VRA) was passed in 1965, it applied principally to states and local jurisdictions in the South. The Act outlawed some of the most blatantly discriminatory electoral tactics, such as poll taxes and literacy tests, which southern jurisdictions used at that time to prevent black and black-supported candidates from winning office. Thus, the vast majority of voter discrimination lawsuits were filed in the South.

More recent developments, however—namely the 1982 amendments to the Act and the increasing influence of blacks in politics—have extended the scope of the VRA. Consequently, the locus of voter discrimination lawsuits is shifting. Now, blacks in the North are challenging the constitutionality of electoral procedures, particularly at-large elections. In suburban Philadelphia, Pittsburgh, and Springfield, Illinois, civil rights groups have gone to court challenging at-large electoral systems on the grounds that they discriminate against black voters.

Challenges Move North

In 1982, Congress extended coverage of the VRA beyond the boundaries of the South to all jurisdictions in the country. The Act was amended in other ways as well. Congress attempted to settle the controversy over the standard of proof required in voting rights challenges by making it clear that plaintiffs need only to prove that electoral systems have a discriminatory effect; they do not have to prove that an electoral system was intentionally designed to reduce opportunities for blacks to elect representatives of their choice. (See "Taking History to Court," page 4.)

This was an important breakthrough for challenging electoral systems in the North. In that region, more subtle voter discrimination tactics, such as at-large elections, are frequently used. (Another subtle tactic is gerrymandering, the intentional grouping of electoral districts to reduce a group's voting effectiveness.) It is often difficult to prove that these types of electoral systems were intentionally designed to dilute the black vote.

In 1986, the Supreme Court, in *Thornburg vs. Gingles,* reaffirmed the effects standard by striking down multi-member legislative districts in North Carolina because they diluted the black vote. In addition, the Supreme Court laid out guidelines for what constitutes discriminatory election results. The Court ruled that voter discrimination occurs when, even though a minority group has enough members in the population to elect a representative of its choice, the electoral system effectively denies them the opportunity to do so. (In the Court's decision, Justice William Brennan cited an article written by civil rights attorney Frank Parker while he was a distinguished scholar at the Joint Center, in the JCPS publication *Minority Vote Dilution.*)

Another reason more electoral system challenges are being brought in the North is that blacks have become more active politically, particularly in terms of registering and turning out to vote. This has led to widespread concern about the discrepancy between the numbers of blacks in the polity and the paucity of black elected officials in the North, something that seems to be most prevalent in jurisdictions that hold at-large elections. The effects of at-large electoral systems were harder to discern and confront when blacks were not heavily registered to vote and their turnout was low. But as their power at the polls grew, this discrepancy became more obvious. Today, guaranteeing that structural impediments to equal participation do not affect the black vote is sharing the attention of black political activists along with voter mobilization efforts.

This is an important issue, since a majority of American cities hold at-large elections. The International City Management Association's survey, "Form of Government—1986," indicated that 60.4 percent of cities with populations over 2,500 hold at-large elections, and 27 percent have mixed (at-large and district) electoral systems. At-large electoral systems are most pervasive in the West and Northeast. The number of cities using such systems dropped, however, by more than 6 percentage points between 1981 and 1986. This may have been due, at least partially, to efforts by civil rights activists. Only 12.8 percent of the cities surveyed elect their officials by district or ward.

The broadening of the scope of the VRA and subsequent court interpretations opened the courtroom doors for blacks to legally challenge at-large elections in the North, but it was their growing political aspirations

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The author is acting director of the Center for Public Policy and an associate professor of political science at Temple University. She testified as an expert witness in the West Chester Borough vote dilution case.

that led them over the threshold. Descriptions of some recent court challenges in northern cities follow.

The VRA in Action

Blacks are 20 percent of West Chester, Pennsylvania's, 17,500 residents, but black candidates rarely win any of the seven borough council seats. The borough changed from ward to at-large elections in 1892, to reduce the likelihood of blacks getting elected to the council. Under the ward electoral system, five blacks served successively on the council in the 10 years from 1882 to 1892. In contrast, for 81 years following the change to at-large elections, no blacks were elected to the council. In 1968, Fred Beckett was appointed to the council but lost the election in which he ran to retain his seat. Robert T. Butler was appointed in 1973 and elected later that year to a full term, and a black woman, Ann E. Aerie, was elected in 1985. Both were significant firsts.

In 1985, the United Political Action Committee (UPAC), a small group of black professionals active in civil rights causes, filed a suit against West Chester Borough in the Chester County Court of Common Pleas. The plaintiffs claimed that the at-large electoral system diluted the black vote, and "effectively denied the black citizens elected and appointed leadership." Litigants testified that if the borough were divided into seven single-member districts, blacks would be a majority of the voters in at least one district (the east central) and would be an important electoral force in a northwest district, where blacks make up approximately one-third of the population.

Blacks in the North are beginning to challenge the constitutionality of electoral procedures, particularly at-large elections.

Despite numerous newspaper articles which had documented West Chester blacks' repeated efforts over the years to get elected to the council, white opponents suggested to the court that blacks were not discriminated against by the at-large system. They contended that blacks were not elected to the council because they either did not vote cohesively, were not interested in running, or did not work as hard as whites to get elected.

In fact, the record was quite clear that blacks who had run for council in black-majority precincts had generally led their party tickets in primary elections, often garnering several times the number of votes gained by white candidates. Nevertheless, black candidates had usually trailed in white precincts, which prevented them from winning elections.

In October 1987, Senior Judge John E. Stively, Jr., declared that West Chester's at-large electoral system was unconstitutional. He ordered the borough to implement a seven ward system, modeled on the designs submitted by UPAC.

Pennsylvania is the locus of other challenges as well. A coalition of civil rights activists filed a federal suit in January 1986 against the city of Pittsburgh, complaining that the at-large electoral system unfairly prevented blacks, who comprise one-fourth of Pittsburgh's residents, from winning council seats.

It would be much more efficient to mount statewide efforts to change state constitutions and legislative acts that mandate or allow at-large elections for local jurisdictions.

However, while the case was pending last May, Pittsburgh voters approved a new district electoral system, which is expected to contain at least two districts where blacks will be in the majority. Although the change was approved citywide by a 2-to-1 ratio, in black areas it was supported by as much as 12 to 1. The new districting plan will be implemented this year.

Civil rights groups have also successfully challenged at-large electoral systems in Illinois. In Springfield, the state capital, a U.S. district court ruled in January 1987 that the at-large electoral system there violated the federal Voting Rights Act. Blacks had charged that the electoral system diluted their voting strength and was inherently discriminatory. The system was changed to election by ward, and in November 1987, two black men, Frank McNeil and Allan Woodson, were elected to the town council.

In Danville, Illinois, where the at-large electoral system was also successfully challenged, two blacks recently won seats on the city council for the first time in 60 years: Lester Brown, an accountant, and Eugene Thompson, a retired foundry worker and one of the plaintiffs in the voter discrimination lawsuit that led to the new ward electoral system. As a result of these decisions, a number of similar challenges have been initiated in courts in other jurisdictions in Illinois.

The 1982 amendments to the Voting Rights Act and the 1986 Gingles decision have made it easier to strike down at-large election systems in the North. Bringing suits against every individual jurisdiction that uses at-large elections, however, will be a time-consuming and ponderous task. It would be much more efficient to mount statewide efforts to change state constitutions and legislative acts that mandate or allow at-large elections for local jurisdictions. If at-large elections are removed as options at the state level, blacks will achieve voting equity more quickly. ■

Taking History to Court

(Continued from page 5)

"a group of people who want to vote as a bloc [could use single- shot voting] to put a scallowag [sic] or put a Negro in there. . . We have a concerted desire and a campaign [from officials in Washington] to register Negroes en masse. It has occurred to a great many people, including the legislature of Alabama, that to protect the white people of Alabama, that [sic] there should be numbered places."

As a result of this evidence, Judge Thompson issued a preliminary injunction prohibiting further use of at-large elections, and all nine counties agreed to adopt single-member district plans. Subsequently, the plaintiffs moved to add as defendants municipalities and school boards for which at-large elections continued to have a discriminatory effect. Most of the defendents have agreed to adopt district elections.

Smoking-gun evidence is also the linchpin of a statewide lawsuit in Virginia, *Irby v. Fitzhugh*. In October 1987, black plaintiffs challenged the statewide system that required school board members to be appointed rather than elected. In this case, evidence of discriminatory intent was easy to find. It was right there in the proceedings of the 1902 state constitutional convention.

A committee of the convention proposed changing the existing method of appointing school board members to a system of popular elections where upon several delegates explained the dangers of such a switch. "We would not only be liable, but likely, to have Negro school trustees in a good many districts in the state, if the trustees are to be elected by the people," said one delegate. "I think we certainly ought not to vote to elect them . . until the franchise matter is disposed of." Another agreed with this prediction, and added that such a prospect would be "abhorrent."

Decades later, in 1947, the Virginia legislature agreed to allow Arlington County to elect its school board members. In 1956, however, two weeks after the elected school board voted not to appeal a court-ordered school desegregation plan, a rural legislator introduced a bill to return the county to the appointive system. His reason was that "the Arlington School Board had adopted certain educational procedures that are repulsive to the conceptions of a great many of the good people of the county." He and three dozen cosponsors stated explicitly that the elected board needed to be abolished because of its willingness to acquiesce in school integration. The county board of supervisors, controlled at the time by hard-core segregationists, was authorized to appoint all future school board members. Over the years, legislators from Northern Virginia have repeatedly introduced legislation that would reinstate popular elections for their county school boards, but all of the bills have died in committee.

Although *Irby* is still in litigation, the plaintiffs seem likely to prevail. If ~~they do~~, this could mean that election plans from Virginia's 145 school boards would have to be submitted to the U.S. Department of Justice for preclearance, and many of the jurisdictions would then be required to change to elected boards. Conservatives may come to rue the day they championed the intent standard as a barrier to district elections. History is now on the side of the challengers. ■

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Blacks and the 1988 Elections: Critical Choices

JCPS/GALLUP Poll of Blacks and Whites Reveals that Unemployment, Drug Abuse, the High Cost of Living and Crime Rank Among the Major Issues in this Year's Election

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Super Tuesday and the Black Vote

Southern Conservative Democratic Leaders Created a Regional Primary to Increase the Chances for a Conservative Democratic Presidential Nominee; Instead Jesse Jackson and Black Voters May Reap the Benefits

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PERSPECTIVE

Selecting A President In A Critical, But Complicated Election

Selecting a president is getting to be a complicated and sometimes bizarre business. Newsweek refers to the 1988 presidential nominating contests as 'Pit-Bull Politics.' Perhaps the most significant development so far has been the introduction of the Super Tuesday elections on March 8. My personal opinion is that this concept will be relegated to a dust bin as an idea whose time has not come.

The nominating process is complicated in other ways. There is the usual gripe that the candidates are not focusing on issues. While Jesse Jackson is often labeled the exception to this charge, he is widely regarded as powerful and influential but unelectable.

As confounding as the presidential election is, it is a critical event. We must choose a new leader, and we have an opportunity to choose new national and international policies. These choices arise because Ronald Reagan isn't running again, a fact which disturbs some, like his right wing supporters, and which causes others, like black Americans, to praise the Lord and the 22nd Amendment.

The choice of a new president and of new policies is important for the entire country, but black Americans, perhaps more than any other group in society, have an extra special interest in this election. It signals the end of the Reagan administration which most blacks strongly oppose.

But opposing Reagan is not enough to guarantee that the next president will be more responsive to the concerns of black Americans. So far, this year's bumper crop of presidential aspirants has not bouyed the confidence of the American people in their ability to confront the nation's future with bold leadership.

Like the rest of us, the candidates sense that the nation is at a critical juncture. The Reagan conservative tide has peaked in the South and is receding everywhere else, but just what should take its place is far from clear. Perhaps that is why most of the presidential candidates in both parties are groping for a program, a theme, a vision that responds to the needs of the nation and that captures the imagination of the electorate.

As dissenters from many Reagan administration policies and as frequent advocates of alternative strategies and prescriptions, blacks are well situated to contribute to the redirection of our nation's paths in 1988 and beyond. We welcome the opportunity not only to participate in the selection of a president, but to participate in the shaping of new policies. Moreover, we demand more involvement in the nation's public policy arena.

In addition to influencing the selection of the next president, black Americans also will help elect the next Congress. This year, all of the seats of the U.S. House of Representatives and 33 Senate seats will be up for grabs. In many ways, the stakes in congressional elections are as high as those in the presidential race. Therefore, blacks must mobilize in this arena as well as on the presidential front. ■

Eddie N. Williams

PRESIDENT

FOCUS

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Blacks and the 1988 Elections: Critical Choices

by Milton D. Morris

As the 1988 presidential campaign moves forward, the American electorate will face some critical choices. Chief among these is the selection of a new president. Much is at stake for American blacks as well as for the rest of the country in making that choice, for the next chief executive will set a policy course that will affect America's domestic health and its place in the world.

The choices of a new president and a new national course are important for the entire country, but especially for blacks. More than any other group, blacks have expressed dissatisfaction with Ronald Reagan's job performance. The extent of black dissatisfaction was reflected in a national survey conducted by the Gallup Organization for the Joint Center for Political Studies last August. According to the survey, a mere 13 percent of blacks approved of Reagan's overall job performance and 79 percent were dissatisfied with the way things were going in the nation. A major source of their dissatisfaction was their perception that the policies of the Reagan administration had not improved the position of blacks in society. In the JCPS survey, only 29 percent of the black respondents thought the situation of blacks had improved in the last five years, compared with 32 percent who thought the situation had worsened and 37 percent who thought it had stayed the same. For the vast majority of black Americans, then, the end of the Reagan era cannot come too soon.

As the election to choose Reagan's successor approaches, the questions for blacks are what roles they will play in selecting a new president and in shaping a policy agenda for the post-Reagan era.

Blacks: A Greater Force

Blacks are likely to participate more extensively in the 1988 presidential election than in any other in the country's history. The factors that should contribute to this increased involvement are Jesse Jackson's campaign for the presidential nomination, the influential roles blacks are playing on several presidential campaign staffs and in the Democratic party nationally, and the impact of black voters.

As perhaps the dominant political force in black America, second-time presidential candidate Jesse Jackson can be expected to attract large numbers of black supporters to the polls and to win more delegates than he did in 1984. Moreover, his candidacy has permitted him to develop and articulate a distinct policy agenda that has profoundly influenced the character of the national debate. And despite the label "unelectable," slapped on him by many in the media, few doubt that he will remain a major force in the nominating process up to the Democratic party's convention in Atlanta and through the general election in November.

Other black political leaders in the Democratic party will also take part in ensuring full black participation in the nominating process and will play key roles in shaping the party's platform. For example, the Democratic National Committee has appointed 16 black elected officials and party leaders to standing committees of the convention, some in key positions. Pennsylvania state Representative and Speaker of the House K. Leroy Irvis will head the Credentials Committee, and California Congressman Mervyn Dymally and Little Rock Mayor Lottie Shackelford will co-chair the Platform and Rules committees, respectively.

In addition, blacks have a stronger presence on presidential campaign staffs. Although they hold few senior positions, the six blacks who do hold key posts (all with Democratic candidates) seem to have more clout than black staffers have had in past elections. There is also a new crop of black young men and women who are cutting their teeth as campaign organizers, press staff, and researchers in influential behind-the-scenes roles.

Finally, the Super Tuesday primaries and caucuses provide an unprecedented opportunity for blacks to influence the choice of the presidential nominee at the ballot box early in the game. They are nearly 20 percent of the population of the Deep South states and 10 percent or more in all the border states that are holding primaries and caucuses on that day. In 1984, blacks were 35 percent or more of the registered Democrats in many of these states (see *Super Tuesday and the Black Vote* article on page 6). And as the nominating process swings to midwestern and northeastern states such as Illinois, Michigan, New York, and Pennsylvania, the voting power of urban blacks will be strongly felt.

Looking beyond the primaries, blacks in these southern, midwestern, and northeastern states could be a decisive factor in electing the president. They are about 11 percent of the U.S. population, and their registration and turnout have increased substantially since 1980, while white registration and turnout have remained relatively constant. In fact, between 1980 and 1986 the gap between the voting rates of blacks and

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whites decreased from 10.4 percentage points to 3.8 percentage points, according to the 1986 Current Population Survey of the Census Bureau.

Beyond Super Tuesday

The voters have already spoken in the early primaries. Missouri Rep. Richard Gephardt led the field of Democrats in Iowa, and a week later Massachusetts Governor Michael Dukakis won in New Hampshire. Republican Senate leader Robert Dole and Vice President George Bush divided victories in the two states much the same way. And Jesse Jackson demonstrated that he can hold his own and indeed win the support of white voters.

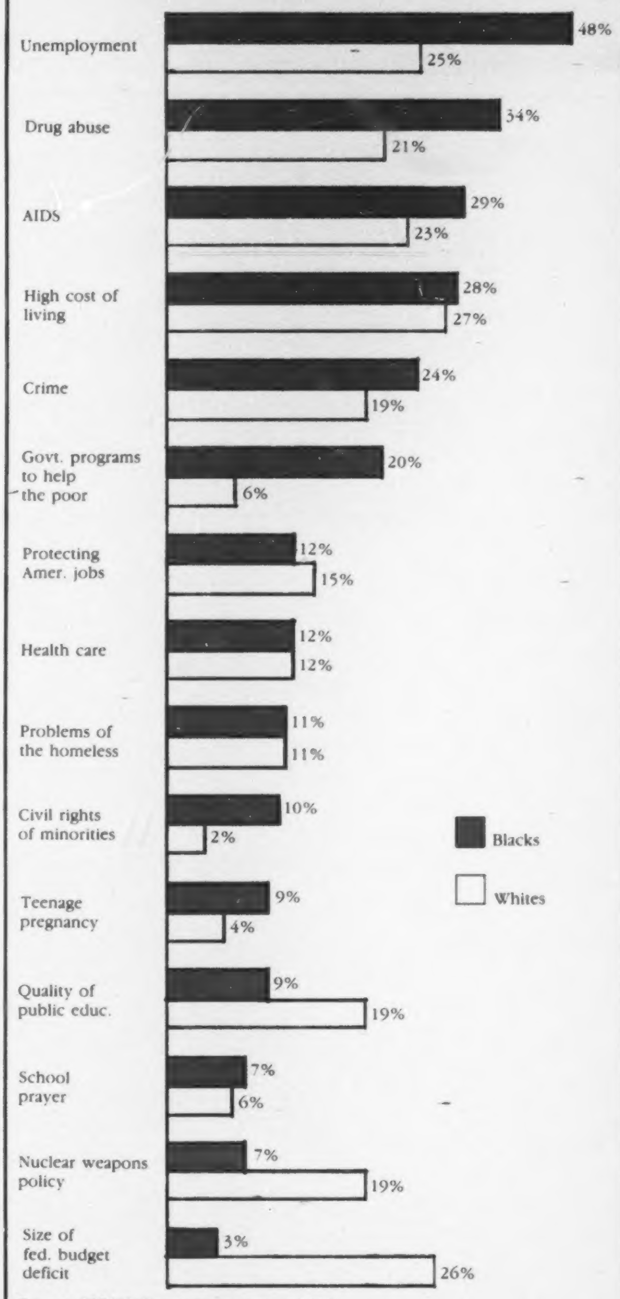
As the campaign moves South, political observers are speculating on just how blacks, who are heavily Democratic, will use their votes. Indications from the JCPS survey are that the overwhelming majority of southern black voters will support Jesse Jackson's candidacy. A full 74 percent of southern blacks reported that Jackson was their first choice for the Democratic nomination. With such a high level of black support, Jackson could win a plurality of votes in a number of Deep South states and come in second in several others.

While Jackson may not win many primaries and caucuses after Super Tuesday in large midwestern and northeastern states such as Illinois (March 15), Michigan (March 26), New York (April 19), Pennsylvania (April 26), and Ohio (May 3), he seems poised to win a substantial share of the delegates in each of those states. A substantial increase over 1984 in the number of delegates Jackson is able to take to the convention under his banner, plus the black delegates supporting other candidates could push the number of black delegates at the Democratic convention well above the 697, or 17.7 percent of the total, who were present in 1984. These delegates could be decisive in selecting the party's nominee in a brokered convention, assuming they acted as a cohesive bloc.

The general election in November offers an even greater opportunity for the black vote to be felt. Two factors that are critical in determining the influence of blacks on the final outcome of the presidential race are the size and distribution of black turnout. While blacks are not much of an electoral factor west of the Mississippi (except in California), a strong black vote in the South and in urban centers in populous northeastern, mid-Atlantic, and midwestern states is essential to a Democratic victory. In order for the Democrats to go over the necessary 270 electoral votes in November, blacks in several key states in those regions must make a big showing at the polls.

The potential for a large black turnout at the polls is real. For the first time in the annual JCPS/Gallup surveys, a higher percentage of blacks than whites reported they were registered to vote (77 percent of blacks compared with 72 percent of whites). In addition, blacks and whites were equally likely to say that they had given thought to the upcoming presidential election: 40 percent of both groups reported that they had given "some" or "a lot" of thought to the upcoming presidential election. Yet, blacks were substantially less likely to say they would definitely vote in the presidential election. Fifty-two percent of blacks compared with 60 percent of whites said they would.

Table 1. The Most Important Campaign Issues, by Race



Source: JCPS/Gallup Survey, August 1987

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February 1988

POLITICAL TRENDLETTER®

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- Voters go to the polls: Dukakis, Gephardt, and Jackson are the Democratic frontrunners; Bush and Dole lead the GOP.
- George Bush is the first choice among black Republicans, according to the JCPS/Gallup survey.
- Black voting-age population tops 11 percent for the first time.
- Across the Nation: In California, Speaker of the State Assembly Willie Brown fights dissidents; Chicago's fair hiring threatened; judicial election case in Louisiana; Mitchell brothers sentenced in Maryland; Ed Cole leads Mississippi Democrats.

Iowa and New Hampshire: At Last, Some 'Real' Voters

After months of public opinion surveys reporting which Democratic candidate and which Republican candidates were likely to win the Iowa caucuses and the New Hampshire primary, the real electorate finally got its chance to turnout and show who it actually supported. **One of the big winners has been JESSE JACKSON, who demonstrated that he can attract white voters in several of the early contests. He garnered 9 percent of the vote in Iowa, 8 percent in New Hampshire, and an impressive 20 percent in Minnesota, which was topped by his second place finish of 31 percent of the vote in Maine.**

His success in Iowa can be attributed to several factors. First, he campaigned hard in the state. Jackson spent more than 60 days in Iowa this time around compared to only 1½ days in the state in 1984. Second, he committed more money to the campaign in Iowa, spending $175,000 there in 1988 compared to less than $10,000 in 1984. Jackson spent more in Iowa than in any state so far except Illinois, his home state and the location of his national headquarters. However, this was substantially less than the top three vote-getters, all of whom spent more than $700,000 in Iowa. Third, Jackson championed farm issues in the American grain belt before other candidates decided it was politically expedient to do so. That helped him in Minnesota as well. And finally, Jackson used black churches to enhance his organization.

According to **WALTER REED,** Jackson's Waterloo field director, 29 of the city's black churches came together under the leadership of the East Side Ministerial Association led by **REV. THAD THOMAS. The churches reached between 75 and 85 percent of the black community and they focused not only on older voters but also created a Young Adults Division.** The Young Adults Division targeted the lowest voting age population of the community, blacks between the ages of 18 and 24, as well as 14- to 17- year olds to baby-sit, act as counters for the caucus, and perform other get-out-the-vote activities. **The goal of organizing 14 to 17 year olds, according to Reed, was not only to secure their help in 1988, but to educate and prepare them to participate in electoral politics in the years to come.** Jackson also did well among farmers in rural Adair County, the site of his state headquarters, and in the state's academic centers.

Although Jackson's vote in New Hampshire demonstrated a smaller gain than in Iowa, there, too, he expanded his support from 5 percent in 1984 to 8 percent of New Hampshire's population. Jackson demonstrated again his ability to attract substantial numbers of white voters—indeed, he won a larger share of the vote than three of the white Democratic contenders (**ALBERT GORE, BRUCE BABBIT,** and **GARY HART**).

In Iowa there was at least one result the surveys failed to predict. On the Republican side **FORMER TELEVANGELIST PAT ROBERTSON** (with 25 percent of the vote) came in second to **KANSAS SEN. ROBERT DOLE** (37 percent) and well ahead of **VICE PRESIDENT GEORGE BUSH** (19 percent). Although Bush was third—8 points ahead of fourth place finisher **NEW YORK REP. JACK KEMP** (with 11 percent of the vote)--Bush was perhaps the biggest loser because as the Republican frontrunner he was not expected to do so poorly in Iowa.

The Iowa caucus is more important for building momentum, getting headlines, and attracting contributors than for winning delegates since the state has only 58 Democratic and 37 Republican delegates, and even these are not decided until May and June at the district and state conventions. By then, the relative standing of candidates will almost surely have changed, so that the sentiment of the delegates finally chosen may be significantly different from the preferences of caucus voters on February 8.

The polls ended up not being good predictors of the Republican contest in New Hampshire as well. While polls conducted the week before the state's primary showed a neck-in-neck race between Dole and Bush, Bush scored a solid victory over Dole.

As in the Republican race, however, New Hampshire produced a different frontrunner among the Democrats. **MICHAEL DUKAKIS,** who from the start was the odds on favorite in his neighboring state, handily won this state's primary. **RICHARD GEPHARDT** clinched second place, while **PAUL SIMON** trailed closely behind. Most political observers believe Simon's future potential for raising campaign finance has been dealt a severe blow.

While the Iowa and New Hampshire results convincingly established two Republican frontrunners (Bush and Dole), these states' results and Gore's decision to focus on the South indicate that in all likelihood there will be at least three strong white Democratic candidates (Gephardt, Dukakis, and Gore) still competitive in the eyes of the electorate on Super Tuesday. If the white vote splits widely among these three whites, Jackson stands an excellent chance to be the winner of the plurality of the vote in the majority of southern states. (See *Super Tuesday and the Black Vote*, p. 6.)

Finally, for black politics, the Iowa results offer another important observation. Concentrated around Iowa's urban centers—Waterloo (11 percent black), Des Moines (7 percent black), and Davenport (6 percent black), blacks make up only 1 percent of the total voting age population in the state. Yet, they composed roughly 2 percent of the participants in the caucus and boosted Jackson's vote. If blacks in other states imitate this model, 1988 could be a record year for black voter participation in the primaries and caucuses and in their support for Jesse Jackson.

On the Presidential Campaign Trail: The Republicans

Last month's *TrendLetter* presented a brief sketch of the Democratic presidential nomination contenders. A comparable look at the Republican candidates who remain in the race is provided this month, again using the analysis of the JCPS/Gallup opinion survey conducted last August. It is often said that the eleventh commandment of Republicans is: "Do not criticize thy fellow party member." It is the Democrats who often have an image of bickering, infighting, and even running kamikaze missions during the primary/caucus season against the candidate who ultimately emerges as the party's nominee. Republicans on the other hand are viewed as being kinder to their GOP opponents and saving their harshest words for Democrats. All this seems to have changed in 1988. **With the two Republican frontrunners, Vice President George Bush and Senate minority leader Robert Dole, stepping up their criticisms of each other and former televangelist Pat Robertson, and with New York Rep. Jack Kemp challenging Bush's victory in the Michigan delegate selection process, Republicans are threatening to outdo Democrats in negative campaigning.** Things have gotten so bitter that Dole was described by his aides as "steaming mad" over charges made by Bush's Iowa campaign chair that he (Dole) is "mean-spirited." Later, Dole demanded a public apology from Bush and said the vice president should "stop lying about his record."

Such rancor is hardly the "right stuff" for winning converts to the party. And, of course, winning converts is just what is needed if the GOP is to expand its abysmal support among black voters in 1988. As late as August 1987, only 7 percent of blacks reported in the JCPS/Gallup survey that they were likely to support the Republican nominee while 77 percent said they would support the Democratic nominee in 1988. Over the course of the year, however, these numbers may change. Given the absence of any moderate Republicans in the race, the proportion of blacks who are likely to vote Republican is small. A full 41 percent of the few black Republicans in the survey did not want any of the current candidate field to win the GOP nomination.

Despite the fact that few blacks in the survey were likely to support Republicans in 1988, the following brief description of the Republican presidential candidates (in alphabetical order) includes data from the 1987 JCPS/Gallup survey about which candidates blacks would like to see the Republicans nominate. (Except where indicated, statistics of black support are based on the total black sample.)

GEORGE BUSH: Vice President Bush is emphasizing his experience in government in general, his foreign policy expertise in particular, and his loyalty to Ronald Reagan for seven years. Bush is fighting to be the first vice president to be elected chief executive since 1836. Currently the frontrunner in national polls, Bush is not popular with the ultra-right and whether he can hold the Reagan coalition together is questionable. Bush won handily in New Hampshire but didn't even place second in any of the Midwest constests of Iowa, South Dakota, and Minnesota. He is still a favorite in the southern states, however, which hold their primaries on March 8. Since eight of these states have winner- take-all systems, he could rack up a formidable delegate lead early in the game. Bush is also the first choice of blacks when asked which Republicans they wanted to win the nomination; 31 percent preferred Bush in the JCPS/Gallup survey.

ROBERT DOLE: SENATE MINORITY LEADER DOLE is also emphasizing his leadership experience. Having served as Finance Committee chairman and majority leader in the Senate, he points to his knowledge of the legislative process as an indicator of his ability to build smooth relations between the White House and Capitol Hill. **Dole also points to his leadership role in the reauthorization of the Voting Rights Act in 1982 and his support for the King holiday bill. But groups such as TransAfrica are quick to point to Dole's failure to support sanctions against South Africa and general conservatism toward the southern Africa region.** Dole has been a winner in the Midwest with victories in Iowa, South Dakota, and Minnesota but came in second behind Bush in New Hampshire. But he was a very distant second among blacks in ranking Republicans to win the nomination. Eight percent of blacks in the JCPS/Gallup survey named Dole as their first choice to win the nomination.

JACK KEMP: NEW YORK REP. KEMP claims that he, not Bush, is the true ideological heir of the Reagan revolution. Kemp was an early advocate of supply-side economics and played a critical role in the passage of Reagan's three-year tax cutting plan in 1981, which many economists blame for producing not only the huge federal deficit but the 1982 recession as well. Running last in primaries and caucuses since **ALEXANDER HAIG AND PIERRE DuPONT** dropped out, **Kemp hopes to win the support of other minorities with his campaign theme: "economic opportunity society."** But he has had little success. Only four percent of blacks in the JCPS/Gallup poll named Kemp as their first choice for the Republican nomination.

MARION (PAT) ROBERTSON: Former televangelist Robertson's campaign revolves around ultra conservative stands on social issues such as capital punishment, school prayer, and opposition to abortion. He has said that God instructed him to run for the presidency in order to put an end to "central government under the religion of secular humanism." In Iowa, his superior organization helped him secure second place, he was also number two in South Dakota and Minnesota. Some observers have speculated that as the past host of the evangelical 700 Club television program, Robertson might prove to be popular with blacks given his religious background. But Robertson has few black supporters, and in the nation as a whole, it will require a big increase in support from the **6 percent of blacks who reported he was their first choice among Republicans in the JCPS/Gallup survey to conclude that Robertson is an attractive candidate to blacks.**

All in all, George Bush was the only Republican presidential contender with substantial black support among those who responded to the JCPS/Gallup poll. But that support will be of little consequence in the Republican nomination process given the small proportion of blacks (7 percent) who say they will vote in the Republican primaries and caucuses.

Record Number of Voting-Age Blacks in 1988

A new report issued by the U.S. Bureau of the Census in early February projects that in 1988 for the first time, blacks will constitute more than 11 percent of the U.S. voting-age population. Blacks will number 20.4 million and represent 11.2 percent of voting-age Americans. In 1984, blacks were 18.4 million, or 10.8 percent of persons of voting age. The regional distribution, according to the census, is that blacks are 17 percent of the voting-age population in the South, 10 percent in the Northeast, 9 percent in the Midwest, and 5 percent in the West. About half of all voting-age blacks live in the South, compared with 20 percent each in the Northeast and Midwest and 10 percent in the West. The District of Columbia has a higher proportion of blacks in its electorate (65 percent) than any state. **The states with the largest black populations are Mississippi (31 percent), Louisiana and South Carolina (27 percent), Georgia and Maryland (24 percent), Alabama (23 percent), and North Carolina (20 percent).**

These projections not only indicate that blacks have the potential to be a larger and more influential part of the electorate, but they also point to new opportunities for blacks to win seats in Congress and state legislatures. For example, data in the report indicate that **Virginia, Georgia, and possibly North Carolina—all states with large black populations—may each gain a congressional seat after the 1990 reapportionment process.** Moreover, some states that already have black members of Congress but that had shown population loss or minimal increase in recent years, such as Michigan, Pennsylvania, Ohio, and Illinois, made gains in 1987. This trend indicates that the threat of losses in the numbers of black members of Congress from these states might be diminishing.

Across the Nation

CALIFORNIA: WILLIE BROWN, the black Democratic speaker of the California Assembly, is in a power struggle with a group of conservative dissidents in his own party known as the "Gang of Five." **The Gang of Five is developing legislation which would limit the power of the speaker to discipline members of the Assembly by making it more difficult for him to remove them from committees by requiring approval of such actions by an ethics committee.** The legislation would also place a six-year limit on the length of time anyone may serve as speaker.

While not to be taken lightly, the legislation is only a part of a larger generational and philosophical conflict raging in the Assembly. There has been a running battle between Brown and senior assemblymen representing urban constituencies, who are opposed by younger legislators (in their 30's and 40's) from conservative suburban and rural districts who are bucking the seniority system. They have also wrangled over numerous social and criminal justice issues such as the death penalty, parental consent for abortions, mandatory AIDS testing of convicted prostitutes, and restrictions on the sale of pornographic materials from vending machines, all of which Brown opposes. Brown who has served as speaker longer than anyone else in the state's history (seven years and four months), removed each of the members of the Gang of Five from committees and stripped them of subcommittee and committee chairmanships.

Since it is unlikely that the Gang of Five will go away, legislative skirmishes will probably continue. But it is unlikely that they will prevail in getting this restrictive legislation passed because they just don't have the votes.

ILLINOIS: In the aftermath of **CHICAGO MAYOR HAROLD WASHINGTON'S** death on November 25, some of his supporters have become concerned that the reforms he put into place are in jeopardy. **A recent Supreme Court decision may signal the return of the patronage system, which became infamous under the political machine of big city boss RICHARD DALEY. In February, a ruling by the Court made the merit hiring system instituted by Washington unenforceable.**

Chicago employment policies have been bound by the Shakman Decree which was named after MICHAEL SHAKMAN who originally sued the city in federal court in 1969 for maintaining hiring practices based on political patronage. Shakman and the others who joined in the suit sought the protection of Federal oversight to ensure a fairly administered personnel system for Chicago's 39,000 municipal workers. Shortly after taking office in 1983, Washington independently agreed to a consent decree which prohibited the hiring or firing of any city employee for political reasons or political activities.

The plaintiffs, who continued their suit after the decree was issued, received a set-back, however, when the Seventh U.S. Circuit Court of Appeals ruled in August that they lacked legal standing in the case which essentially voided the decree's provisions on hiring and made the decree unenforceable by the city of Chicago. The plaintiffs appealed to the U.S. Supreme Court, which left untouched the Seventh Circuit's ruling when it declined to hear the case without comment on February 22. **The Court's decision created a vacuum in the enforcement of the Shakman Decree and leaves a barrier between the plaintiffs and federal oversight of the city's hiring practices for now. But the policies on firing were left intact.** The city hasn't seen the end of the matter, however; the plaintiffs will resume struggle this spring before FEDERAL DISTRICT JUDGE **NICHOLAS J. BUA.**

LOUISIANA: In November 1987, city court Judge **FREDDIE PITCHER, JR.,** was elected district court judge in Baton Rouge. He got 42 percent of the vote in predominantly white precincts and 95 percent of the vote in black precincts to become the first black elected to a parishwide office in the 20th century. Ironically, Pitcher's win may hurt efforts of civil rights attorneys who are trying to change the state's parishwide at-large election system of judges to an arrangement in which they are elected in districts that could provide minorities with better opportunities to win.

A suit has been filed by **ATTORNEY JANICE CLARK** in federal district court in Baton Rouge *(Clark v Edwards)* in an attempt to abolish the present system. Plaintiffs argue that since blacks constitute only about one-third of the voters in the parish, a black candidate has to gain a sizeable vote in the white community to be elected and can rarely do that since black voters often have a minimal impact on election outcomes. **The plaintiffs in the case have argued that Section 2 of the Voting Rights Act, which prohibits states from conducting elections that have the effect of diluting minority voting strength, applies to judgeship elections.** Two federal cases have been decided on that point but both went in opposite directions. A Mississippi district judge ruled that Section 2 does apply, but a New Orleans judge (in a case involving the election of that state's supreme court judges) ruled it does not. Voting rights suits in other states have already struck down at-large systems for non-judicial offices where a few blacks may occasionally be elected but black representation does not reach a level that approximates the black proportion in the population.

MARYLAND: FORMER STATE SEN. CLARENCE M. MITCHELL III and his brother, **STATE SEN. MICHAEL B. MITCHELL,** were both sentenced on February 5 to 30 months in prison for accepting $50,000 to obstruct a congressional investigation of the Wedtech Corporation. (See January *Political TrendLetter*) In addition, Clarence Mitchell received a 30-month prison sentence stemming from a related wire fraud charge, and Michael Mitchell got 30 months in prison for each of two charges of wire fraud. **U.S. DISTRICT JUDGE NORMAN P. RAMSEY** ordered that the sentences run concurrently. He also ordered Clarence Mitchell to pay $6,000 in fines and Michael Mitchell $7,000. Both will be eligible for parole in 10 months. Upon sentencing, Michael Mitchell was automatically suspended from his state Senate seat.

A Baltimore grand jury has also indicted Michael Mitchell on unrelated charges in connection with the theft of $77,000 from a 3-year-old boy's guardianship fund. It is alleged that Mitchell used for his own benefit an estate that included two life insurance policies intended for the boy. In addition, a jury convicted Clarence Mitchell on charges of conspiracy and obstructing a grand jury investigation into his business ties to a convicted Baltimore drug dealer. Although Judge Ramsey ordered the Mitchells to begin serving their sentences for the Wedtech convictions in 60 days, both report they will continue to pursue appeals of their convictions. The Mitchells maintain that they are victims of a Federal Bureau of Investigation plot to discredit black leaders.

MISSISSIPPI: Blacks in this Old Dixie state have come a long way since the Mississippi Freedom Democratic Party challenged the state's segregationist regular Democratic party delegates at the party's 1964 national convention. Today, the regular Mississippi Democratic party is headed by **ED COLE,** 43, a black former administrative assistant to **FAYETTE MAYOR CHARLES EVERS.** The state committee elected Cole chair of the Mississippi Democratic party in November after **STEVE PATTERSON** resigned from the post to run for Congress from the Fourth District.

But at the regular election of party officers in April, recently elected DEMOCRATIC GOVERNOR RAY MABUS will try to replace Cole. Mabus is backing a white woman, BILLIE THOMPSON, for the job. Thompson is from Tupelo and is a long- time supporter of the governor. Mabus's opposition of Cole is ironic, given the make-up of the constituency that elected him. According to local newspaper and television exit polls, Mabus's close margin of victory in last November's gubernatorial election was a result of black support. He received only 32 percent of the white vote but was pushed over the top by a 90 percent black vote. Cole, who is currently an aide in **U.S. SEN. JOHN STENNIS'S** Jackson office, reports that he has lots of grassroots support and expects to win reelection.

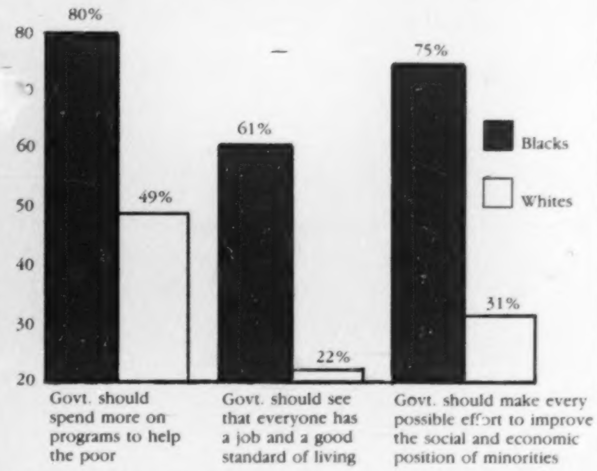
Blacks and the 1988 Elections

(Continued from page 4)

Shaping a Policy Agenda

The country is at a critical juncture in its history and is searching for direction in the post-Reagan era. At present, there is no clear national consensus on an appropriate course in the aftermath of the two-term Reagan presidency, which may well represent the peak of a conservative drive to gain power and to reshape the structure, role, and basic operating premises of the federal government.

Table 2. Black and White Attitudes Toward the Role of Government



Source: JCPS/Gallup Survey, August 1987

The conservative effort was successful in instituting tax policies that provide fewer government resources and in restructuring federal spending priorities away from social programs and toward the Pentagon. Domestic programs such as public housing, education, and child development have been decimated by major budget cuts and by repeated questions raised by Reagan administration officials about their efficacy. Civil rights and other equal opportunity programs have been especially undermined through direct attempts to reverse established policies and through conspicuous non-enforcement of laws and policies. These have occurred alongside rapidly deteriorating social and economic conditions for large segments of society.

There is substantial evidence, however, that the conservative drive is now receding. For example, in the 1984 JCPS/Gallup survey, 86 percent of blacks but only 31 percent of whites wanted government to spend more on social programs to help the poor—but by the 1987 JCPS/Gallup survey, when the percentage of blacks favoring more governmental spending to help the poor had declined slightly to 80 percent, the percentage of whites had climbed to 49 percent. Similarly, for both groups the percentage preferring more defense spending had declined: in 1984, 31 percent of blacks and 41 percent of whites wanted government to spend more on defense; in the 1987 survey, those figures had dropped to 25 percent and 35 percent, respectively. Thus, two hallmarks of conservatism—cutting social spending and increasing defense spending—appear to be waning in popularity.

But what will follow this receding conservative tide is far from clear. Most of the presidential candidates are groping uneasily for a program, theme, or vision of the future that responds to the nation's needs and captures the imagination of the electorate. This uncertainty offers black Americans a unique opportunity to contribute to the reformulation of national policy. And the JCPS/Gallup survey indicated that blacks need not venture along that path alone but may be joined by white allies on a number of issues. As Table 1 (see box on page 4) indicates, unemployment, drug abuse, acquired immune-deficiency syndrome (AIDS), the high cost of living, and crime rank high among major concerns for both groups. Thus, in the search for policy direction, blacks and whites have a commonality of interests in many areas which could constitute the basis for alliances.

There are differences between the races, however. Whites were more widely dispersed than blacks in their view of the country's most important issues, whereas blacks, by 48 percent, clearly identified unemployment as their chief concern; and although the federal deficit loomed large as a white concern, it was important for only a small minority of blacks. Similarly, while "government programs to help the poor" were among the top three concerns of a fifth of all blacks surveyed, such programs were important to only a small group of whites.

Blacks and whites remained divided on the role of government in solving the nation's social and economic woes. As Table 2 (see box above) demonstrates, blacks continued to be significantly more likely than whites to favor a strong activist government in social spending and job creation.

This year, for black Americans, having their concerns incorporated into the program of the next administration may be as important as getting out the vote. ■

Picking A President: A Guide to Delegate Selection in the States, 1988, has been published by the Joint Center as a working paper. It details the selection process in each of the 50 states for both parties, reviews rules and timetables, and provides relevant demographic and political information on each state's racial composition, voting age population, registration levels, and critical policy issues. It can be ordered for $4.95 from the Publications Clerk, Joint Center for Political Studies®, 1301 Pennsylvania Ave., N.W., Wash., D.C. 20004; telephone 202-626-3500.

Super Tuesday and the Black Vote

by Linda F. Williams

The long pre-season of 1988 presidential politics, which some call the "invisible primary" in which candidates jockey to discover whether they are viable, has finally come to an end. The formal nomination process has begun, with each candidate facing the reality that his rankings in public opinion polls now mean far less than does his courtship of the delegates. Beginning with the Iowa caucus in February and continuing through the Democratic convention in July and the Republican convention in August, the focal point of presidential politics is the delegate selection process.

The Iowa and Minnesota caucuses and New Hampshire and South Dakota primaries have already given voters, elected officials, and political analysts some clues as to whom the eventual Democratic and Republican nominees might be. Nevertheless, the final results remain in question, as candidates in both parties struggle to stay in the race.

Now the campaign moves south where an even greater weeding out of candidates is expected. And for the first time in the 1988 campaign, the potential impact of black voters comes into play. The first real test of black voting strength in this year's presidential race will come on March 8, the day called "Super Tuesday," on which 14 Deep South and border states will hold primaries and caucuses to select approximately one-third of the delegates that will participate in the Democratic and Republican conventions this summer.

Of the 1,453 delegates who will be chosen on March 8 to attend the Democratic convention in July, 1,173, or four-fifths, of them will come from the South and border states. And with over one-half of the total black American voting age population in these southern and border states, the region is a wealth of potential black voting power. Thus, southern voters, particularly blacks, are expected to play a critical role in determining which Republican and which Democrat will ultimately face each other in November.

Super Tuesday: A Conservative Southern Democratic Strategy

Shortly after the 1984 presidential election, southern Democratic elected officials such as former Virginia Governor Charles Robb embraced the idea of a one-day primary that includes almost every state in the region, plus several border states, for two reasons. First, they believed that a southern regional primary early during the nomination process would give the South more influence in choosing the party's nominee. Second, they believed that in order to regain the White House, the party had to carry most of Dixie in the general election. To do that, they contended, there needed to be a southerner (or at least a moderate) on the ticket in either the first or the second spot in order to appeal more strongly than in recent elections to white southern voters (particularly males). Since 1944, the Democrats have not won a presidential election without someone from the South or a border state being on the ticket. And since the 1948 presidential election, the Democrats have been unable to win the votes of the majority of southern white males.

Thus, victory-hungry southern Democrats planned to use the Super Tuesday regional primary to have a greater impact on the Democratic presidential selection process in 1988 and to seek a ticket that combined electability in the South with acceptability elsewhere. It was thought that with an early regional primary, the field of candidates would still be broad enough to include at least one southerner or another candidate whose position on the issues would be centrist enough to appeal to conservative southern Democrats. Southern Democrats, voting on Super Tuesday, were expected to give that southern or centrist candidate the boost he would need to go on to the convention with a chance to win the nomination or at least have a strong bargaining position there. In short, southern Democrats hoped that Super Tuesday would simultaneously downgrade the "liberal" influence of Iowa, New Hampshire, and other northern states in picking the party's nominee and would upgrade their own influence. In the process, the party would not lose the support of white southerners—who, they reasoned, were necessary for a Democratic presidential victory in November. The southern regional primary was aimed at enhancing the clout of any candidate willing to bring to the political debate "a properly southern" way of doing things.

Yet, this scenario was always full of potential pitfalls. For one thing, it should never be assumed that even as early as March 8 the field would be all that crowded in the eyes of the electorate. Southern voters might be more impressed with the winner in the Iowa caucus or the New Hampshire primary than with a wide array of other candidates, even those with southern backgrounds. And so Super Tuesday could very well end up boosting the influence of Iowa and New Hampshire. A southern background, after all, was not important to southern voters in 1984. Former Florida Governor Reubin Askew and South Carolina Senator Fritz Hol-

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Dr. Williams is associate director of research at the Joint Center.

lings might as well have been from Wisconsin as far as southern Democratic voters were concerned. Neither candidate received as much as 10 percent of the vote cast in the southern primaries and caucuses. And in 1984, an early primary date did not in itself ensure a wide array of candidates. Even in the early southern primaries (for example, the March 13 primaries in Alabama, Florida, and Georgia), the race had already narrowed to three candidates (Mondale, Hart, and Jackson), with all the other candidates combined getting less than 25 percent of the vote in the three states.

The second potential problem with the scenario envisaged by southern Democratic leaders is that the South's white conservatives just might not be attracted to the Democratic candidates at all. Southern Republican leaders are already painting all the Democratic candidates as liberals. Moreover, since only 4 of the 14 southern and border states (Arkansas, Maryland, Mississippi, and Texas) are holding their congressional and state election primaries on the same day as the presidential primaries, Democratic voters in the 10 other states could boycott the Democratic presidential primaries but still vote later in the Democratic congressional, state, and local elections. And with a genuinely competitive primary in the Republican party for the first time since 1980, conservative Democrats might very well decide not to boycott the primary altogether but to cast their vote on the GOP side in open primary and caucus states. Doing either would be a bad omen for the Democrats. Thus, it is unclear whether any of the candidates are coming South with the kind of right-of-center issues agenda most popular to conservative southern Democrats. But the brand of politics preached by most of the candidates is populist without distinctly southern overtones.

Ironically It's Jackson

Finally, given the size of the black population in most southern states, the candidate who might benefit most in the South on Super Tuesday ironically is not a centrist, but rather Jesse Jackson. In 1984, Jackson did well in many of the states holding their primary or caucus on March 8. For example, Jackson won 43 percent of the primary vote in Louisiana (where a boycott by white voters boosted his percentage), 26 percent of the vote in Maryland, 25 percent of the vote in Tennessee and North Carolina each, 21 percent of the vote in Georgia, 20 percent of the vote in Alabama, and 12 percent of the vote in Florida. In the caucuses, Jackson won 27 percent of the vote in Mississippi and Virginia each, 20 percent in Arkansas, 18 percent in Kentucky and Missouri each, and 16 percent in Texas. Jackson's overall vote percentages roughly parallelled the proportion of black voters in these states. Blacks comprise 20 percent or more of the total black voting age population in all of the Deep South states, and at least 6 percent in the border states. Thus, Super Tuesday raises the stakes for the potential impact of black voters in 1988 (see box below).

Moreover, the black voter registration and turnout rates in many of these states have been increasing dramatically since 1980. Indeed, according to the U.S. Census Bureau, as a whole, black voter registration in the South rose by 5 percentage points. For example, between 1980 and 1984, black voter registration rates in Alabama rose by 9 percentage points and by 6 percentage points in Georgia. Indicators are that the relative gap in black and white voter registration and turnout has narrowed since 1984. Although turnout for both black and white voters declined in 1986 com-

JACKSON SUPPORT IN 1984 IN SUPER TUESDAY STATES

State	Black Population, 1988	Jackson Vote in 1984	Delegates Won by Jackson in 1984	Total Number of Delegates in 1988	Delegate Sel. 1988
Alabama	23%	20%	9 of 62 (15%)	61	OP
Arkansas*	14	20	7 of 42 (17%)	43	OP
Florida	12	12	3 of 143 (2%)	146	CP
Georgia	24	21	20 of 84 (24%)	86	OP
Hawaii*	2	4	0 of 27 (0%)	25	CC
Idaho	1	2	0 of 22 (0%)	23	OC
Kentucky*	7	18	7 of 63 (11%)	60	CP
Louisiana	28	43**	24 of 69 (35%)	71	CP
Maryland	24	26	17 of 74 (23%)	78	CP
Massachusetts	4	5	5 of 116 (4%)	109	OP*
Mississippi*	31	27	13 of 43 (30%)	45	OP
Missouri*	10	18	16 of 86 (19%)	83	OP
Nevada*	6	1	1 of 20 (5%)	21	CC
North Carolina	20	25	16 of 88 (18%)	89	CP
Oklahoma*	6	4	3 of 53 (6%)	51	CP
Rhode Island	3	9	0 of 27 (0%)	26	OP*
Tennessee	15	25	17 of 76 (22%)	77	OP
Texas*	11	16	36 of 200 (18%)	198	OP&C
Virginia*	18	27	25 of 78 (32%)	85	OP
Washington*	2	3	3 of 70 (4%)	72	OC
American Samoa*	—	—	0 of 6 (0%)	4	CC
TOTAL IN SUPER TUESDAY STATES	14	20%***	222 of 1,449 (15%)	1,453	N/A
NATIONAL TOTAL	11	18%***	466 of 3,933 (12%)	4,160	N/A

*Caucus in 1984; otherwise primary

**Jackson was winner

***Jackson's percentage of total primary vote; does not include caucus votes

BOLD = SUPER TUESDAY STATE IN 1984 (MARCH 13)

OP = Open Primary—Voters may participate in either party's primary

OP* = Open primary to independents, but not to Republicans

CP = Closed Primary—Primary restricted to registered Democrats

CC = Closed Caucus—Caucus restricted to registered Democrats

OC = Open Caucus—Voters may participate in either party's caucus

OP&C = Part of delegates chosen by open primary; part by caucus pared to 1984 (as is typical in mid-term elections), the gap between black and white turnout in the South was only 1 percentage point, according to the U.S. Census Bureau. This was the first time the Census Bureau had reported such a low differential since it began tallying voter participation by race in 1964.

In some southern states (Alabama, Missouri, Tennessee, Texas, and Virginia), reported black voter turnout was even higher than reported white voter turnout. Therefore, if black voter mobilization in 1988 continues to grow, as is expected, blacks will play an even more important role in southern politics. Recent surveys indicate that the lion's share of the black vote will go again to Jackson. For example, in the Joint Center for Political Studies/Gallup survey conducted last August (see *Blacks and the 1988 Elections*, p. 3), Jackson was the first choice to win the nomination among 74 percent of southern blacks.

Super Tuesday: Leading to a Brokered Convention

Still, it is not clear just how much of an impact a united southern black vote for Jackson will have on the ultimate outcome of the southern primaries and caucuses. Among a crowded field of three other strong candidates who are actively competing for Super Tuesday delegates, including Michael Dukakis, Richard Gephardt, and Albert Gore (Paul Simon is not campaigning in the South), Jackson should win the plurality of votes in most of the Deep South states and come in second in several border states if he receives massive black support. Jackson's chances of success should be greatest in states where blacks comprise a disproportionate number of total Democratic voters, as they did in Georgia and Louisiana in 1984 when they were over 35 percent.

But, even if Jackson is successful in Deep South states, it is important to keep southern success in perspective in relation to the total number of delegates at stake. In fact, several of the states where blacks comprise large proportions of the total voting age population will yield relatively few delegates to victorious candidates. For example, Alabama, Georgia, Louisiana, Maryland, Mississippi, North Carolina, and Virginia—all states whose populations are 18 percent or more black—will elect a combined total of 515 Democratic delegates to the national convention. The other southern and non-southern Super Tuesday states, however, with smaller black populations (from 1 percent in Idaho to 15 percent in Tennessee) will elect a combined total of 938 Democratic delegates. Therefore, if Jackson were to win the number of delegates equal to the entire proportion of blacks in all the states holding their primaries on March 8, he would only receive approximately 193 delegates—13 percent of the delegates at stake in the states holding their primaries and caucuses on Super Tuesday.

Of course, Jackson is not likely to get the entire black vote on Super Tuesday, but he is likely to get some of the white and Hispanic vote. Most political pundits expect him to get about 90 percent of the black vote and 10 percent of the white vote in the South. Based on these estimates, Jackson could win from 300 to 400 delegates. But there are other factors which will affect his chances, including the number of candidates still considered to be serious contenders, the size of the total voter turnout, the degree to which the white vote is split between the remaining white candidates, and the strength of Sen. Al Gore of Tennessee as a regional candidate. Also to be considered are the delegate selection rules including the threshold percentage of votes necessary to receive delegates. All of these factors figure heavily in the ultimate outcome of how many delegates Jackson or any other candidate wins on Super Tuesday. Beyond garnering delegates, Super Tuesday may do much more by building a burst of momentum for a candidate by generating a shower of media attention and campaign contributions—which can fuel a candidate's victory at the convention. ■

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The Kerner Report: Twenty Years Later

Two recent reports confirm the assessment of many Americans that the chilling conclusion of the 1968 Kerner Commission Report on civil disorders continues to be valid: our nation is still moving toward two societies, one black, one white—separate and unequal. Nevertheless, the potential for future progress in race relations remains high.

The National Urban League's report, *The State of Black America 1988*, released in January, described the 1980s as "a time of increasing black hardship, with inner city communities decimated by crack and crime, and national policies of withdrawal from efforts to increase opportunities for blacks." The League's report accused the Reagan administration of "slashing" funds for social programs that benefit the poor.

Another report which comments on race relations and the state of black America was released in February by a distinguished group of white and black Americans. This group met at the Johnson Foundation's Wingspread Conference Center in Racine, Wisconsin, to assess race relations since the Kerner report was issued 20 years ago. The principle convenors were former Oklahoma Senator Fred Harris, a member of the 1968 commission appointed by President Johnson and chaired by then Illinois Governor Otto Kerner, and scholar-journalist Roger Wilkins, the Robinson Professor of History and Culture at Virginia's George Mason University. Wilkins is the nephew of another member of the Kerner Commission, the late Roy Wilkins.

The Wingspread group issued a document entitled "The Kerner Report: Twenty Years Later," which paints a grim picture of a growing urban underclass locked in long-term poverty.

Harris, Wilkins, and their colleagues conclude that the depressed conditions of the underclass, which were anticipated by the Kerner Commission, are exacerbated by a fundamental breakdown of many of the social institutions in inner cities. They challenged the nation not only to address the problems of racial separation, but also to narrow the gap, which has been growing, between poor and upper income Americans.

As much as today's grim picture of the underclass reminds us of the state of black America in 1968, there is reason to believe that further progress in race relations can be achieved. Against the backdrop of significant disparities in the social and economic status of blacks and whites, it is clear that in several areas black Americans have made significant progress. Three areas come readily to mind: a general increase in educational attainment; the emergence of a small but growing black middle class; and the growing influence of black Americans in the political arena.

Yet another hopeful sign may be seen in the recent convergence of black and white attitudes on several major public policy issues. Last year a Joint Center-Gallup national opinion survey revealed that there is substantial agreement between blacks and whites about the five most important national issues: unemployment, drug abuse, AIDS, the high cost of living, and crime. These shared concerns could form the basis for a public policy coalition to pursue a new national agenda. The current presidential election provides the kind of environment in which such a coalition could easily emerge.

In fact, the presidential candidate who could help forge and give leadership to such a coalition is likely to be the next occupant of the White House. ■

Eddie N. Williams

PRESIDENT

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On Black Initiative and Governmental Responsibility

Eleanor Holmes Norton Calls for Black Leaders to Reach Back to Their Heritage of Values and Recraft the Black Agenda

by Eleanor Holmes Norton

Editor's Note: This article is adapted from the text of a speech given by the author, a professor of law at Georgetown University, at the opening session of the Joint Center's Fifth National Policy Institute in Washington, D.C., on January 21, 1988.

The most productive quarter of a century for equality for black people came to a close in 1980. If this has brought hardship to black people, especially the black poor, it has brought challenge to black leadership. How does one lead in a period when there is progress from the civil rights laws to build upon but adversity elsewhere that is retracting that progress? What is the proper balance between accepting challenge to ourselves and putting pressure on the government?

In the 19th century, the preeminent leadership to whom such questions were addressed were black ministers, who led from the pulpit. For most of the 20th century, leadership came mainly from civil rights leaders, who led the fight for equality under law. Today black people have for the first time been able to elect their leaders and to have others appointed; and the ministers and the civil rights leaders, though an important and vital part of the leadership of black America, have passed the baton.

At the same time, ironically, it is more difficult to exercise leadership for black America today than it has ever been, because the context is complicated by a mixture of progress and problems. Nor is there always clarity even on the fundamentals, such as what precisely the black agenda should be.

Recrafting the Agenda

In the past, blacks had a familiar agenda that was self-perpetuating. The black agenda was passed down from generation to generation unchanged for a hundred years, because black progress occurred so slowly. The philosophy and strategy behind this agenda were always clear. The irony is that the very success of blacks in moving part of that agenda for the first time—particularly the achievement of the historic civil rights laws and advances—has necessitated a rethinking and retooling of the black agenda.

The ingredients and priorities of the black agenda are not nearly as clear as they were when blacks were denied the right to vote, to enter public accommodations, and to train for and obtain the same jobs as whites. Today the black agenda must be carefully and consciously framed to meet the needs of a black community far more diverse in condition, composition, and aspiration than ever before. The recrafting of the agenda poses a formidable challenge we are still striving to meet. A revised and revitalized agenda assumes a thought-out philosophy about our goals and the reasons those goals have been chosen. In the 1980s we have been delayed and distracted from fully spelling out such a philosophy.

For blacks, the 1980s should have been a period of consolidation on questions of civil rights and of the transfer of some of our energies to newly emerging issues. After 25 years of fighting rudimentary segregation and discrimination, new and more complex issues—many with social and economic in addition to equality implications—require new and sophisticated tools. But during this decade, blacks have been preoccupied as the policies of the national government have required us to refight all the old battles we thought we had won—from extending the Voting Rights Act and preserving the legal integrity of affirmative action to insisting upon the vital role of government in assisting the poor.

The new challenges to the minority community remain formidable: strengthening the black family and reducing the growth of female-headed households; fighting the development of a dangerous pattern of increasing structural or permanent unemployment among black men; confronting the emergence of a large group living in permanent poverty; encouraging black business in the next stage of its development; improving levels of black achievement in schools and colleges; coming to grips with the new technology before an irretrievable gap between whites and blacks in education and employment takes hold. These are today's issues. But beleaguered by budget cuts and reactionary policies from Washington, blacks have been unable to fully face these new challenges.

The balance in outlook and strategy we require will be difficult to achieve. We will need to be determined yet flexible, insistent on the old issues but also moving on to new solutions, able to build upon our strengths but unafraid to face our weaknesses, committed to the old goals but open to the new challenges we face.

It is with this philosophy and against this background that the Committee on Policy for Racial Justice was formed in 1981 by the Joint Center. The 30-person committee of black academics and analysts, which is co-chaired by John Hope Franklin, the distinguished historian, and myself, provides a way for those who think and write about the difficult issues facing black people to commit their *collective* thoughts to writing, in the hope that black leadership and the black community might find a systematic analysis of these issues useful. Black leaders and intellectuals, in particular, are at a crossroad as they strive to revise their thinking about the black condition and the black future in light of changing conditions. Torn between shedding the past and grappling with the future, blacks have hardly had time to analyze their problems in light of awesome new challenges. Thus the goal of our committee has been to publish short, readable essays, each the result of the committee's thinking over a year or 18 months, and to make them available throughout our community. Our hope is that these essays will both stimulate and contribute to the necessary process of rethinking that every people must periodically attempt.

Our most recently published essay, "Black Initiative and Governmental Responsibility," encourages a more balanced and forthright discussion about the black condition today. In this essay, we struggled with the subjects that have been the most sensitive and the most fundamental in the black community during the 1980s. We deliberately began with a discussion of black community values in a period when blacks increasingly and openly wonder whether the black value system is being brought to bear on black problems. This was followed by an attempt to sort out what a community should be expected to do for itself and what government must do for the people in a stable democracy.

We try for the balance between government responsibility and community initiative that we believe has been missing from the discussion. The absence of balance has led to an often confused and polarized debate.

We believe that in the multi-class black community of today, what is required is, on the one hand, a new mix of vigorous community initiatives and, on the other, government action that faces up to its responsibility for the people, especially the poor; which democratic government must assume. The title we gave the essay literally expresses our concern for both—"Black Initiative and Governmental Responsibility."

A Black Heritage of Values

The first section on black values is the vital entry point into the essay. We do not argue the question of values. There was no need for that. The value traditions of the black community itself have always been and remain the foundation for the direction the black community takes. To quote the essay, "The most basic resource of the black community is the special value structure that has sustained black people through the darkest of hours." Thus, we look directly to the community's own value heritage and find in those values both the historic basis of black survival and the charter for building the black future.

To be sure, the black value system has been shaken by the experience of the black community during the past 25 years. We see this reflected in high crime rates, in welfare dependency, in births to single women, in drug addiction, in poor educational performance—in the problems that confront our people every day. But despite these problems, the black value system itself is intact and healthy. It is our rich value heritage that provides the foundation as we seek renewal.

In the essay we identify some of the historically black values that are especially relevant today. They include the primacy of family, the importance of education, the necessity for individual enterprise and hard work, and the tradition of self-help.

We draw upon our own history to show the preeminence of these values. For example, in their efforts to strengthen the black family, black people can draw on their own rich history of family stability in the face of utter hardship. Triumph over hardship may be seen in many ways—whether in the determination of slaves who somehow reestablished families after slavery or the extraordinary feat of families who kept together across hundreds of miles during the great migration North. Even today, the black family tradition is alive and flourishing in strong extended families, which are much more pervasive among blacks than among whites.

Role of Government—Role of the Community

The essay moves on from its values foundation to a two-pronged analysis of the role of government and the role of community—in light of new challenges to both. We regret the artificial public debate and discussion that has tended to obscure the role of one in favor of the other, because we believe that this discussion has been disconnected from reality, from the needs of blacks, and from the way the people in any democratic, humane nation must deal with serious problems. The appropriate balance between government and community is necessary because, quite simply, our problems cannot be effectively addressed otherwise.

We look to government to do what no amount of community effort can accomplish. It is government that must restore an economy that contains low and moderate skill jobs with decent pay of the kind that produced the white middle class. It is government that must restore the infrastructure of the cities. It is government that must improve public education, reform the welfare system, and provide retraining for the jobless.

(Continued on page 7)

March 1988

POLITICAL TRENDLETTER®

Inside This Issue

- **Jesse Jackson sweeps five Super Tuesday states and maintains his momentum.**
- **Black psychologist Lenora Fulani is running for president as an independent.**
- **The Civil Rights Restoration Act passes Congress.**
- **Across the Nation: Blacks run for Congress in Louisiana, New Jersey, New Mexico, and Wisconsin.**

Tuesday, March 8, Was "Super" for Jesse Jackson

JESSE JACKSON'S mainstream campaign is working. On March 8, Super Tuesday, he was victorious in five Deep South states (Alabama, Georgia, Louisiana, Mississippi, and Virginia) and came in second in eight more (Florida, Maryland, Massachusetts, Missouri, North Carolina, Rhode Island, Tennessee, and Texas). **In all, Jackson won 28 percent of the popular vote in the southern and border states on Super Tuesday. Massachusetts Gov. MICHAEL DUKAKIS came in second with 27 percent of the popular vote, and Tennessee Sen. ALBERT GORE was third with 25 percent. For the Democrats, Super Tuesday left the battle for the nomination muddled—a close race among three contenders.** Iowa's winner, Missouri Rep. **RICHARD GEPHARDT,** who came in fourth with only 13 percent of the vote in the southern states, was almost mortally wounded. What Super Tuesday showed more than anything else, however, was the surprising viability of Jesse Jackson's candidacy for the Democratic nomination.

After March 8, however, Jackson demonstrated that he still had momentum. He won the first step in Alaska's three-tiered caucus process, carried South Carolina, and finished second behind **PAUL SIMON** in Illinois, the home state of both of them. Since Alaska is only 3 percent black, Jackson, who was the preferred candidate of 35 percent of the delegates at precinct caucuses, undoubtedly did well among white voters. In South Carolina, Jackson's birth place, he achieved his most spectacular victory, winning 54 percent of the caucus vote. Gore came in second with 18 percent, and Dukakis and Gephardt barely registered with 7 percent and 2 percent of the vote respectively. The overwhelming unity of the black vote for Jackson, relatively high black turnouts in the Democratic primaries and caucuses, and an expansion of "rainbow" support among non-black voters in 1988 compared to 1984, combined with the crowded field of Democratic contenders, all contributed to Jackson's success.

This conclusion is confirmed by CBS/*New York Times* polls. First, the polls revealed that Jackson remained by far the best known candidate on Super Tuesday. **While 97 percent of the southern Democratic voters said they were familiar with Jackson and his issues,** only 77 percent said they were familiar with Dukakis, who was the runner-up in popular preference votes. Second, black voters provided more support for Jackson in 1988 than in 1984. **In 1984, Jackson won less than 80 percent of the black vote in southern states; this year he won over 90 percent of the black vote according to exit polls.** Undoubtedly, Jackson's success among black voters can be attributed to "racial consciousness" as well as the appeal of his campaign issues and themes. But with the exception of Gore, the other candidates did not seriously campaign in black communities, thus they failed to siphon off any of Jackson's black support.

Third, there was a large black turnout on Super Tuesday. For example, while blacks comprise approximately 20 to 31 percent of the five Deep South states that Jackson won, they made up 33 percent to 46 percent of the Democratic electorate in those states. **Fourth, Jackson has not only expanded his white support from about**

4 percent in the South in 1984 to roughly 10 percent in 1988, but has also increased his support among non-black minorities. In 1988, Jackson won the votes of approximately 1 out of every 4 Hispanic voters compared to only about 1 out of every 10 in 1984. And in South Dakota, the only state with a substantial number of minority voters in the pre-Super Tuesday states, Jackson came in first or second in majority Native American counties.

Surprisingly, Jackson, with his populist themes, did not draw his white support from the blue-collar groups or farmers he targeted. Instead, much of his white votes came from liberal white college students and young urban professionals. Jackson's white supporters are young and well educated, while Dukakis, with his management message, drew from the older, upper income white elite. And Gore, with his heavy emphasis on southern patriotism, drew his votes from blue collar and conservative whites.

A week later, Sen. Paul Simon was able to keep his election hopes alive with his first victory in the Illinois primary on March 15. In this contest, Dukakis, who ran a strong campaign in the South, finished a poor third without winning even a single delegate. This muddled Democratic race is one in which the contestants seem to be taking turns at winning.

And as the campaign moves North, the prophesy that the Democratic nomination will end in a brokered convention appears to be coming true. This is because the delegates garnered thus far are so evenly distributed among the candidates that none of them has much of a mathematical chance of capturing enough delegates to win the nomination out right through the primaries and caucuses. This is good news for Jesse Jackson and his supporters.

The Other Black Presidential Candidate: Fulani's Quest

DR. LENORA FULANI, a 38-year-old black psychologist from New York, is running for president as an independent candidate. While national custom and the socialization of voters to support the two-party system are part of the historic problem facing independent candidates in the American electoral process, Fulani has had some success at fighting against the odds. **She has not only managed to qualify to be on the ballot in every state and the District of Columbia, but has become the first black independent candidate to receive matching funds from the Federal Elections Commission (FEC). She has received $263,000 in matching funds thus far.**

Fulani, a candidate on the National Alliance Party ticket, is running on the campaign slogan: "Two Roads are Better than One." She is asking her supporters to vote for Rev. Jesse Jackson during the Democratic primaries as "the first road." And if he fails to win the nomination, as she says he will since, in her opinion, he is "too black and too progressive," then Dr. Fulani will seek the votes of Jackson supporters in the general election. For blacks to support Fulani in the general election is "the second road" in her strategy.

But running as an independent is not without problems. Fulani's political connections are questionable as some charge that her candidacy is an off-shoot of the right-wing Lyndon LaRouche U.S. Labor Party.

Fulani points out that the foremost barriers that she faces as an independent candidate are national laws and, to a greater degree, state laws that determine whether a candidate's name can be placed on the ballot. **For example, Fulani, unlike Democratic and Republican contenders for the presidency, had to solicit 1.5 million signatures on petitions circulated nationally to enable her to get her name placed on the ballot in all 50 states and the District of Columbia—a feat she achieved.** She notes that getting the necessary signatures was particularly difficult in the states of Florida, California, West Virginia, New York, and Texas. In Florida, for instance, an independent needs 48,657 petition signatures, all on individual postcards with a 10 cents fee per signature paid to the state by that particular candidate. Democrats and Republicans pay nothing. In California, it takes 130,000 signatures to get an independent candidate on the ballot. And in West Virginia, New York, and Texas, persons voting in a major party presidential primary are not permitted to sign a petition for an independent candidate. This petitioning system is a huge expense for presidential hopefuls who do not have strong financial backing. Small wonder third parties or independent candidates find it extremely difficult to get on the ballot, let alone to mount a national campaign.

Another impediment to Fulani's full participation in the presidential election process has been the refusal of groups to include her in presidential debates. **Recently, her supporters filed a federal lawsuit against the Internal Revenue Service (IRS) and the League of Women Voters charging, among other things, that the League barred Fulani from participation in League sponsored presidential debates.** Fulani charges the League with violating not only the IRS code for organizations with a 501(c)(3) tax-exempt status, but its own nonpartisan charter. **The lawsuit also claims that Fulani's exclusion from presidential debates violates Title VI of the Civil Rights Act of 1964 and Title IX of the Education Amendments of 1972, which prohibit discrimination on the basis of gender.** Fulani is suing for an injunction against the League of Women Voters' debates in Rochester, scheduled for mid-April. To make the life of the independent candidate easier in the future, Rep. **JOHN CONYERS** (D- Mich.) has introduced a bill (H.R. 1582) that would set more equitable standards for all candidates in presidential elections. So far, however, it has received only a few cosponsors.

Fulani says she has no illusions that she will win the presidency in 1988, but she hopes to provide voters of all races with a genuine choice in the general election—as opposed to the two parties which she expects to nominate centrists who make policy in the interest of the corporate elite. In addition, she hopes to win at least a million votes. These million votes, she believes, will wake up the Democratic and Republican parties to the dissatisfaction expressed by many towards what she regards as a corporate-centered two-party system.

Civil Rights Restoration Act Finally Passes

On March 2, the Civil Rights Restoration Act, the most important piece of civil rights legislation since the 1982 reauthorization of the Voting Rights Act, passed the U.S. House of Representatives. The House bill, which passed in almost identical form by the Senate on January 28, overturns the effects of the 1984 Supreme Court *Grove City College v. Bell* decision. In that decision, the Court ruled that a federal law barring sex discrimination at a college receiving federal aid applied only to the specific operation or that part of the school actually receiving the aid. Prior to this decision, antidiscrimination laws had been applied to entire institutions if any part of the institution received federal funds. Following the decision, the Justice Department, which had sided with Grove City College, interpreted the ruling to encompass other federal laws barring discrimination on account of race, age, or disability. The Act, which restores the original intent of Congress, counters the *Grove City* decision by extending the reach of antidiscrimination laws to entire institutions if they get any federal dollars.

Black VIP'S at the 1988 Democratic Convention

The Democratic National Committee's list of persons who are likely to be key players at the Democratic National Convention in July includes a larger number of blacks than in 1984. In total, 63, or approximately 16 percent, of the total number of top DNC convention officials will be black. In 1984, 49, or approximately 13 percent, of the convention functionaries were black. Blacks are prominent members of the Platform Committee, the Credentials Committee, and the Rules Committee, and are also in high-ranking positions as DNC officers.

Of the 25 permanent members of the Platform Committee, 6 are black, including U.S. Rep. CARDISS COLLINS (Ill.); State Sen. MAXINE HORNER (Okla.); State Rep. EARLINE ROGERS (Ind.); American Federation of State, County and Municipal Employees' Secretary-Treasurer WILLIAM LUCY; and DNC member LEON LYNCH (Pa.) In addition, Congressional Black Caucus Chairman MERV DYMALLY from California is this year's co-chair of the Platform Committee, which will establish the party's policy (at least rhetorically) for the next four years. At past conventions, major battles over policy issues have been fought in the Platform Committee.

Pennsylvania state House of Representatives Speaker K. LEROY IRVIS will chair the Credentials Committee, which certifies who may officially attend the convention. Other blacks who are part of the 25-member Credentials Committee are DNC members SHIRLEY ROBINSON HALL from Mich. and VELMA HILL from New York, United Auto Workers Vice President MARC STEPP (Mich.), as well as New Mexico State Treasurer JAMES LEWIS.

The third, and perhaps most important, committee at the convention will be the Rules Committee, which governs all convention procedures including the nomination process. One of four co-chairs of the Rules Committee is Mayor LOTTIE SHACKLEFORD (Little Rock, Ark.). Other black members of the 25-member committee are D.C. City Councilmember WILHELMINA ROLARK; MARGARET SMITH, an Illinois state senator; DAVID CLAXTON from D.C.; and Florida State Rep. ALZO REDDICK.

In addition, there are two black officers of the DNC Executive Committee: Illinois State Comptroller ROLAND W. BURRIS, vice chairman, and Washington, D.C., business executive SHARON PRATT DIXON, treasurer.

Across the Nation

LOUISIANA: On Feb 3, Alexandria lawyer FAYE WILLIAMS, who narrowly lost her bid to become this state's first black congresswoman, declared a rematch for the Eighth District seat against freshman U.S. Rep. CLYDE HOLLOWAY, a Republican. Accusing Holloway of being both "incompetent and callous," Williams promised "strong, sensitive leadership." The focus of her campaign will be the incumbent's record, she says. According to Williams, Holloway has "provided no legislative relief for [the] district and has become a mere spectator of congressional proceedings." **She is also promising jobs for the economically depressed area and a cleaner environment for the communities along the Mississippi River. The district has a 36 percent black voting-age population.**

Meanwhile, another black Louisianan, educator JUNE PHILLIPS, announced her congressional candidacy for the Fourth District seat vacated by BUDDY ROEMER who was recently elected governor. Phillips, director of the federal Title III program at Southern University-Shreveport and a member of the State Board of Trustees for Louisiana State Colleges and Universities, is the first black and lone woman in the seven candidate Democratic field. (Title III provides financial assistance to minority educational institutions.) Phillips likens her campaign to that of Williams who she says "helped us to break the ice and show that women who are qualified can win." According to Phillips, an improved educational system and better economic conditions in the Fourth District are her priorities. **In a February opinion poll, Phillips was the second choice of black voters and the fifth choice of all Democratic voters. Blacks make up 29 percent of the district's voting-age population.**

NEW JERSEY: On March 14, House Judiciary Committee chairman PETER RODINO, 79, announced his retirement from Congress. The New Jersey Democrat who represents Newark has served in the House since 1948. It is almost guaranteed that his successor will be black since the 10th Congressional District has a black voting-age population of more that 58 percent. At least two politicians have already declared their desire to be the first black member of Congress from the Garden State. **In this heavily Democratic district, the contest will essentially be decided in the June primary.** With so few Republicans in the district the November general election should be a mere formality.

One of those seeking the post is Newark City Councilmember DONALD PAYNE, 53, who ran against Rodino unsuccessfully in 1986, garnering 37 percent of the vote. He has already raised over $100,000 and has strong backing from Newark Mayor SHARPE JAMES and State Senate President JOHN RUSSO. **The other candidate for Rodino's seat is Newark Councilman Rev. RALPH GRANT, who is pinning his hopes on grassroots support as opposed to endorsements from party leaders.**

Rodino, who presided over the 1974 House Judiciary Committee hearings on the impeachment of Richard Nixon, is a strong advocate of civil rights and was floor manager of major civil rights legislation in the 1960s.

NEW MEXICO: Bernalillo County Commissioner LENTON MALRY filed to run for the First Congressional District seat being vacated by Republican MANUEL LUJAN who is retiring after 20 years in Congress. Malry, who is black, served five terms as a state legislator and two terms as a county commissioner. He asserts that his extensive legislative experience separates him from the five other Democratic candidates in the race. According to Malry, who holds a Ph.D. from the University of New Mexico, education is the key to creating jobs in the state, and his expertise in addressing education issues should win him votes.

The First District is only 2 percent black, but is 33 percent Hispanic, and black candidates in New Mexico have been successful in securing the votes of large numbers of whites and Hispanics. For example, State Treasurer James Lewis was elected statewide in 1986 despite the fact that only 2 percent of voters in the state are black.

OKLAHOMA: On February 18, HANNAH D. ATKINS was confirmed by the Oklahoma State Senate as secretary of state. Atkins, who served 12 years in the Oklahoma House of Representatives, was nominated by Republican Gov. HENRY BELLMON in mid-September 1987 after the resignation of the former secretary of state. She is a member of the Executive Committee and Board of the American Civil Liberties Union (ACLU) and a member of the national board of TransAfrica. **As Oklahoma secretary of state, Atkins becomes one of only eight black statewide administrative officials in the nation.**

PENNSYLVANIA: According to a recently released survey by the *Philadelphia New Observer*, blacks made limited progress in 1987 under the administration of Mayor WILSON GOODE. The *New Observer*, a black weekly newspaper, reports that unemployment, inadequate housing, homelessness, and other urban problems continue to plague the city. To back up their findings, the report quotes local Urban League President ROBERT SORRELL as saying, "There's been a pickup in construction and a boost in the retail businesses. But those boosts didn't trickle down to the black community."

On the plus side, however, the *Observer* points out that about 65,000 new jobs were created in the Philadelphia region with a revitalization in the manufacturing and the service producing industries. Contracts totalling over $34 million were awarded to minorities, and women received more than $21 million in contracts from the city's Procurement Department alone. Shelters housed more than 6,500 homeless people, and during the colder days and nights, Mayor Goode dispatched teams to pick up the street people and made personal tours of the city. There was also a "marked decrease in racial violence and improved police-community relations."

While the *Observer* concludes that most black Philadelphians believe "things have to get better faster," they say blacks demonstrated their confidence in the city's black elected officials by returning most of them to office last November. But they call on the black elected officials not to betray that confidence and loyalty.

WISCONSIN: Although the Fifth Congressional District, which encompasses most of Milwaukee, is only 28 percent black, several blacks have either announced their candidacy or indicated that they may run for the seat to be vacated by three term Democratic Rep. JIM MOODY. Moody is expected to seek the Senate seat of Democrat William Proxmire, who is retiring. **Announced and potential black candidates include former Secretary of State VEL PHILLIPS, DON SYKES, who heads the Milwaukee County Social Development Commission, and Milwaukee County Supervisor TERRANCE PITTS, among the Democrats, and businesswoman HELEN BARNHILL, on the Republican side.** For the present, Phillips, who announced her candidacy last November, is expected to have the best chance, given her statewide name recognition. She became the first black to win a statewide election in Wisconsin in 1978. She was also the first black person and the first woman elected to the Milwaukee Common Council, and the first black person to serve as a Wisconsin judge.

The Primary and Caucus States After Super Tuesday With Significant Black Voting-Age Populations

		Delegates*	
Date	**State**	**Dems**	**Reps**
March 26	Michigan	138 (c)	
March 29	Connecticut	52 (p)	35 (p)
April 5	Wisconsin	81 (p)	47 (p)
April 18	Delaware	15 (c)	
April 19	New York	255 (p)	136 (p)
April 26	Pennsylvania	178 (p)	96 (p)
May 3	D.C.	16 (p)	14 (p)
	Ohio	159 (p)	88 (p)
June 7	California	314 (p)	175 (p)
	New Jersey	109 (p)	64 (p)

*(c) designates caucus and (p) designates primary

The Metropolitan Area Fact Book: A Statistical Portrait of Blacks and Whites in Urban America

On the 20th anniversary of the Kerner Commission report on the urban riots of the late 1960s, the Joint Center has issued a new publication that provides graphic evidence that the nation is still "moving toward two societies, one black, one white—separate and unequal." The new book, entitled *The Metropolitan Area Fact Book: A Statistical Portrait of Blacks and Whites in Urban America*, edited by Katherine McFate, a research associate at the Joint Center, will be released in April. This article was adapted from the introduction to the *Fact Book*.

The *Fact Book* presents demographic data on each of the 48 metropolitan areas where more than 100,000 blacks live.* Over 85 percent of all black Americans live in metropolitan areas. Thus, the data in the fact book profile the living conditions of the majority of the nation's blacks.

Twenty years ago, the Kerner Commission concluded that the already enormous gap in the living conditions of blacks and whites was widening. Since 1968, blacks have made progress in some measures of socioeconomic status—most notably education—but then as now, a broad gulf remains between the races.

Comparing Black and White Living Conditions

The tables in the *Fact Book* present data for both blacks and whites on the major indicators of social and economic well-being—employment, income and earnings, homeownership, education, and family structure. Following are some general differences in black and white living conditions for each of those indicators.

Employment. In nearly two-thirds of the 48 metro areas covered in the *Fact Book*, the labor force participation rate of black males is less than 75 percent. (The labor force participation rate includes both people who are employed and people who are unemployed but actively seeking work.) The labor force participation rate of white males is above 75 percent in all but 2 of the 48 metro areas (Ft. Lauderdale and Tampa-St. Petersburg). The data on the underemployment of those who are working are especially striking. In none of the 48 metro areas are a majority of black males working full time, since many black males who have jobs are employed part time. In contrast, 50 percent or more of white males are working full time in all but 2 metro areas.

Most Black Males Working Full Time	
San Diego	49.5%
Nassau-Suffolk (New York)	49.4
Washington, D.C.	49.2
Dallas	48.5
Houston	48.5
Fewest Black Males Working Full Time	
Detroit	32.1%
Buffalo	34.6
Mobile	34.7
Pittsburgh	36.2
Memphis	36.3

Income and Earnings. The median incomes of black households range from about one-half to three-fourths the median incomes of white households in all 48 metro areas. Black household incomes are $5,000 to $10,000 lower than white household incomes.

Highest Median Black Household Income	
Nassau-Suffolk (New York)	$18,826
Washington, D.C.	16,484
Gary	16,342
Houston	13,775
Detroit	13,684
Lowest Median Black Household Income	
Mobile	$8,763
Shreveport	8,944
Memphis	8,986
Jacksonville	9,053
Buffalo	9,181

Homeownership. Black-owned homes, on average, are worth one-third to one-half less than white-owned homes. The value of black-owned homes is closest to that of white-owned homes in the metro areas of Nassau-Suffolk (New York), Cincinnati, and San Diego; black and white housing values differ most in the Kansas City (Missouri) and Philadelphia metro areas.

Most Black Homeowners	
Nassau-Suffolk (New York)	61.0%
Charleston	57.6
Baton Rouge	56.4
Shreveport	55.9
Mobile	55.4

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* The data were taken from the 1980 decennial census of population and housing conducted by the U.S. Bureau of the Census. These are the most recent data available that allow for detailed compilation and comparisons.

Minorities in Engineering: A Model for Success

An Innovative Precollege Engineering Program Addresses the Projected National Deficit of Engineering Professionals by Recruiting and Training Minority Youth

by Don Lightman

Demographers are making some weighty predictions about shifts in the future racial composition of this country, and some of these predictions will have far-reaching implications for the makeup of the job market. By the year 2000, a third of the U.S. population will be composed of racial minorities, and the vast majority of entrants to the job market will be minorities, immigrants, and women.

These demographic changes could have a profound impact on the industries that depend heavily on college math and science majors to fill their vacancies. Minority students—the core of tomorrow's job market—are not getting the type of education they will need to compete in the technological fields, especially in engineering. Despite the fact that the number of minority engineering graduates has increased by nearly 400 percent over the last 15 years, in June 1986 they still constituted only 5 percent of the engineering graduates.

Clearly, with the percentage of minorities in the population expanding so rapidly and the nation becoming increasingly dependent on new technologies, the levels at which minorities are now graduating from engineering programs will be insufficient to meet future technological needs. If current and future generations of minority students do not receive the type and quality of education they need to compete in math- and science-based fields, the effects on our economy and our standing in world affairs could be catastrophic.

Recognizing that more minorities must be trained to compete in the technological fields, concerned leaders in the engineering profession have implemented some innovative programs to help minorities improve their skills in math- and science-based professions. In *Minority Engineers Will Play Key Role in 21st Century Economy (Focus*, May 1987), Richard F. Neblett talked about the work of the National Action Council for Minorities in Engineering (NACME). That organization is the nation's largest privately funded source of scholarships for minority engineering students. The council encourages secondary schools and colleges to work together to set up engineering programs that combine advanced preparation in math and science with a strong system of student counseling and support. The goal is to improve the students' self-confidence and provide them with better academic preparation.

The council has published a handbook, *Gearing Up: How to Start a Precollege Minority Engineering Program*, which is a step-by-step guide to developing such programs. (Copies are available at $10.00 each from NACME, 3 West 35th St., New York, N.Y. 10001.)

SECME: Gearing Up for the Future

One of the most outstanding of these precollege programs is the Southeastern Consortium for Minorities in Engineering (SECME). SECME draws from a pool of 34

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SECME and Comparative Average SAT Scores

	1985			1984		
	Verbal	**Math**	**Total**	**Verbal**	**Math**	**Total**
All Students	431	475	906	426	471	897
White	449	491	940	445	487	932
Black	346	376	722	342	373	715
Mexican-American	382	426	808	390	427	817
Puerto Rican	368	409	777	366	400	766
Native American	392	428	820	390	427	817
SECME*	436	488	924	420	501	921

*Black pre-engineering student participants only.

Sources: *Professional Women and Minorities: A Manpower Data Resource Service* (Commission on Professionals in Science and Technology: Washington, D.C., 1986); various SECME newsletters.

Army lieutenant colonel Don Lightman is a senior military fellow at the Joint Center.

Black Initiative

(Continued from page 4)

At the same time there are efforts that only a community can carry out for itself. Perhaps the most important of these is closer collaboration between the new black middle class and the black poor. The list of skills, services, and caring that can be transmitted to the poor through community collaboration is inexhaustible. During the 1980s, when government has quite simply defaulted, the essay reminds blacks that government assistance of any kind has been both recent and modest, while community efforts have always been rich and diverse.

This is the legacy of the self-improvement tradition that springs from sources as diverse as Booker T. Washington's self-help philosophy and W. E. B. DuBois's view that education is the key to both economic advancement and political freedom. The wonderful and extraordinary self-help legacy is alive today in the work of the black church, the black colleges, the civil rights organizations, and the thousands of community efforts that are fighting illiteracy, drug abuse, truancy, teenage pregnancy, and all the rest of the predatory problems in our community. These community-initiated efforts must be strengthened and expanded because they help us to continue to do what we have always done best—define our problems and initiate their solutions.

Our essay, "Black Initiative and Governmental Responsibility," seeks to play a clarifying function, not by supplying all the answers but by encouraging us to ask ourselves ever harder questions. The frame of mind we would like to encourage is inspired directly by Martin Luther King, Jr., a man who is often admired for his moral leadership and whom we admire also for his intellectual leadership and his insistence upon probing to the next deeper level of complexity and difficulty. "It is not a sign of weakness but a sign of high maturity to rise to the level of self-criticism," he wrote. This is how he moved on to the Vietnam War and to poverty. He could not be contained even by the black revolution of which he was a philosopher-king. Nor must we.

Defining an affirmative posture, some of it inevitably and emphatically involving the government but some of it also drawing more heavily than ever upon the energy and brilliance of our traditions, is, we believe, imperative today. Otherwise, in too many instances our issues will not move at all. Otherwise, we acquiesce in the status quo even as we protest it.

America's black elected and appointed officials represent the antithesis of the status quo. They have overturned the status quo and have led America down the road that can establish a new order.

If our essay proves useful in even small ways, it shall have achieved its potential. The concrete task ahead, the real job to be done, the work of leading black people with new issues, new remedies, and new boldness is yours preeminently. It is a job you take on literally with the vote of confidence of black Americans. ■

The Metro Area Fact Book

(Continued from page 5)

Fewest Black Homeowners	
New York City	18.4%
Boston	23.0
Newark	28.3
Chicago	33.5
Buffalo	34.2

Education. This is one area in which blacks have made progress. Between 1970 and 1980, the proportions of blacks with high school and college educations increased, and the gap between black and white educational attainment narrowed. Nevertheless, black high school completion rates across the 48 metro areas are generally 12 to 15 percentage points lower than those for whites. And half as many blacks as whites (nationally and across the metro areas) complete college.

Most College-Educated Blacks	
Washington, D.C.	14.7%
Raleigh	14.2
Jackson	13.2
Nashville	12.9
Baton Rouge	12.5
Fewest College-Educated Blacks	
Buffalo	6.4%
Memphis	6.5
Mobile	6.5
Indianapolis	6.6
Cleveland	6.8

Poverty and Family Structure. Single-parent families headed by women are much more likely to be poor than either two-parent families or single-parent families headed by men. Nationally, about 40 percent of black families are headed by women, whereas only 10 percent of white families are headed by women. In the 48 metro areas, the percentage of black families headed by women varies from a low of 30 percent in Houston to a high of almost 50 percent in Milwaukee.

Many of the tables are designed so that readers can tell at a glance, for example, which areas have the highest or lowest levels of black college graduates, which have the highest or lowest levels of black homeowners, and so forth. The *Fact Book* also includes highlight tables and statistical portraits for each area. The highlight tables list the five metro areas that rank the highest and the five that rank the lowest in black population density, employment, income, homeownership, college education, and poverty. In the statistical portrait for each metro area, all the important data for that area are presented together.

Copies of the *Fact Book* can be ordered through the Publications Clerk, Joint Center for Political Studies, Suite 400, 1301 Pennsylvania Ave., N.W., Washington, D.C. 20004; telephone 202/626-3500. ■

This adaptation was prepared by Constance B. Toliver, an associate editor at the Joint Center.

Minorities in Engineering

(Continued from page 6)

percent of the nation's black secondary school population, which includes over 60 secondary school systems containing 214 high schools and approximately 15,000 students. The consortium has sent 85 percent of the students enrolled in its program to 25 regional colleges in southern states.

Over the last six years, approximately 46 percent of the SECME students who have gone on to college have chosen engineering or related fields as careers. On 1985 Scholastic Aptitude Tests, SECME students scored 13 points above the national average on the math portion and 5 points above the national average on the verbal portion (see table). Carolyn C. Chesnutt, SECME's executive director, believes that the key to the success of the program has been the involvement of corporations and industry which have provided funds, grants, and dedicated professionals to serve as role models—in all phases of the program.

Blueprint for Success

SECME has been successful in educating minorities in math- and science-based fields because it tackles the problem ingeniously. Its program combines a number of innovative educational approaches including counseling, precollege preparation, science and mathematics instruction, cognitive development and problem solving, tutorial programs, mentors and role models, financial aid, remedial work, and study skills instruction.

In addition, at every level of the school system, consultants from the corporate sector and the colleges are involved with the program. Of particular importance, SECME cultivates minority student interest and involvement from as early as middle school, so that counseling, role modeling, and confidence-building can be provided early enough to enhance the students' probability of success.

The key components that affect the success of minority engineering programs and that SECME has developed successfully are recruiting, training, and retention.

Recruiting. SECME students are selected on the basis of several criteria, which include standardized test scores, classroom performance, teacher recommendations, aptitude for math and science, and expressed interest in engineering-related fields of study. Most important, SECME does not strive to recruit gifted students but concentrates instead on average to above average students who show promise and interest. Students are identified as early as the sixth grade to give them more time to acquire the academic skills needed to succeed.

Training. SECME students participate in a program of enriched classroom content and instruction. Academic lessons are taught in hands-on, real-life situations. For example, students are exposed to the practical applications of computers, lasers, and robots. SECME and affiliated institutions furnish many of the educational modules and much of the equipment.

Retention. Students receive academic and personal counseling from a variety of sources. Competent and sensitive counselors guide and encourage students who might otherwise fall by the wayside. Mentors and role models—faculty members, counselors, older students, and professional engineers—also provide the support the students need to stay with the program by giving them individual attention at critical times in their lives.

A common thread that runs through all three of these components is a high-quality faculty. SECME runs a summer program at the Georgia Institute of Technology to give teachers, guidance counselors, and administrators from the affiliated school systems training in new curricula and instructional techniques designed to assist in motivating the students to learn.

As the National Science Board indicated in its 1986 report, *Undergraduate Science, Mathematics, and Engineering Education,* current efforts to increase the numbers of women and minorities in the science and engineering work forces will not be adequate to serve the nation's future technological needs. Efforts must be made not only to support those programs that have been effective, such as SECME's, but also to strengthen those that have been unproductive. Otherwise, the nation will continue to deprive itself of an important and sorely needed source of scientists and engineers. ■

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The monthly magazine of the Joint Center for Political Studies®

Scholarship, Research, and Black Political Empowerment

Eddie N. Williams Urges Scholars and Researchers to Participate in the Public Policy Development Process

The Glow of the Rainbow

While Jesse Jackson Continues to Stun the Nation With His 1988 Primary Victories, the Question Remains Whether He Can Win the Democratic Nomination

Black Youth Face an Uncertain Jobs Future

Growing Racial Disparities in Employment Signal Need for Policy Changes

POLITICAL TRENDLETTER®

Perspective

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Scholarship, Research, and Black Political Empowerment

by Eddie N. Williams

Editor's note: This month's "Perspective" was adapted from an address by the president at the 19th annual meeting of the National Conference of Black Political Scientists in Washington, D.C., on March 25, 1988.

Scholars and researchers at the Joint Center share concerns about the well-being of black Americans and about the role that blacks play in the governance of our society. We must consider how and to what extent we might cooperate in addressing these concerns.

An appropriate place to start is with the current presidential election and the candidacy of Jesse Jackson. Clearly, Jackson's bid for the presidency has captured the attention of most Americans. We are seized by the candidacy to an even greater extent than we were four years ago, and perhaps more than by any other political event in recent years.

It is appropriate that the Jackson candidacy should command our attention because it is, in many respects, a rich metaphor for black political life today. It reflects the extent of our aspirations to participate fully in the governance of the country; it demonstrates the enormous political resources we are able to command; it shows once more the substantive depth and tactical brilliance of which we are capable; and it painfully illustrates the barriers we face in being accepted as full and equal participants in the political arena, and in other areas as well.

Few among us would have predicted six months ago that a black presidential candidate would have achieved the success Mr. Jackson has achieved at this point in the campaign for the Democratic party's nomination. Well past the half-way mark toward the convention, Jackson is virtually tied for first place in popular votes and delegate strength; and he towers above the rest of the field in performance as a candidate. What is even more remarkable is that no one in recent American politics has come close to Jesse Jackson in accomplishing so much with so little money.

But the success of the Jackson candidacy is severely constrained by the reality of race. Despite the outstanding performance of the candidate, despite his massive support among blacks and his growing support among whites, and despite his reasoned and timely set of issues, the Jackson candidacy is given virtually no chance of success. Dismissing the legitimacy of the candidacy or any thought of its success, the media, many analysts, and much of the public keep asking: "What does Jackson *really* want?"

The continuing dilemma of black political participation in the face of formidable racial barriers is one of those issues that concerns all of us. Our frustration with these barriers is not lessened by the fact that they are now primarily attitudinal rather than structural. They are still barriers, and in many ways they are more effective than structural barriers. These barriers exist not only for the presidency, but they are operative at every level of the political system. They explain why the number of blacks serving in the House of Representatives has not grown much faster; why the Senate remains all white; and why there are no black families in governors' mansions. They explain why outstanding

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Black elected officials so quickly reach political dead ends instead of moving on to new and higher levels of public service or into lucrative corporate positions.

For years, the Joint Center has chronicled the growth in the number of blacks elected to public office, and we have watched with pleasure as the numbers have grown. But we are conscious of the demographic and attitudinal factors that restrict both the extent and the rate of their future growth. We have attempted to explore some of the ways in which black politicians might overcome some of these barriers to wider participation. Our most recent effort is a forthcoming book on the two gubernatorial campaigns of Los Angeles Mayor Tom Bradley. That study [*Tom Bradley's Campaigns for Governor: The Dilemma of Race and Political Strategy*] examines how race affected the outcome of the Bradley campaigns and how black candidates might be able to reduce the handicap of racial prejudice in multiracial or predominantly white jurisdictions.

Shaping a National Policy Agenda

While racial barriers constitute one formidable challenge to black America, an equally formidable challenge is that of shaping the nation's policy agenda. One of the most remarkable features of the presidential race to date is that, except for Jesse Jackson, the candidates have few new or compelling ideas and only a limited vision of what it takes to meet the nation's most pressing future needs.

Black Americans have both an urgent need and an obligation to focus our energies on the development of a national policy agenda for the years ahead. The world is changing, this country is changing, and our future may very well depend on our ability to seize the opportunities that these times present. The era of confrontation with communism appears to be rapidly coming to an end. That confrontation provided the foundation for United States foreign policy—for its preoccupation with Western Europe and its inattention to the Third World except where anticommunism was involved. As the nation gropes uneasily for direction in the new era, we need to help bring the Third World to the nation's attention, not only as a theatre of need, but as potential trading partners in the future.

The U.S. is now a declining force in international economic affairs as its trade deficit mounts and its competitive capability erodes. Our well-being as a society requires us to participate in thoughtful, substantive deliberations on revitalizing the national economy in ways that promise to improve the quality of life for blacks as well as other Americans. It is also appropriate that we contribute to the debate over economic policy because blacks have been the most persistent dissenters from the economic policies of the Reagan administration. The society is faced with a rapidly growing array of human and social problems, some relatively new, to which we have been largely unresponsive. The virtual collapse of some portions of our system of public education, the rapid rise of the homeless and the marginally housed, and the epidemic of drug abuse are only a few of the most obvious of these problems. Blacks, as usual, are a disproportionately large percentage of those afflicted. Clearly, the nation's continued neglect of these problems will quickly destroy any hope that the black population will enter the 21st century better off than it is today.

The Role of Scholars and Research

Where do we fit into the picture? How can black scholars and the Joint Center, as the leading research institution concerned with these issues, play a role in meeting the formidable challenge before us? There should be no illusions about the complexity and enormity of the task. There are no simple, quick means available for remaking this society. However, without our deep commitment to play a prominent role in the public policy arena, little will be accomplished that will benefit the black community.

For too long, many of us have settled for easy denunciations of the "system." We have stressed the obstacles we face instead of the possibilities we could exploit. This posture is now unacceptable. For one thing, a large number of us are now in *the system*. Moreover, our institutions are vital parts of the meager resources available to the black community, and we have an obligation to use them fully and effectively. The same is true of each one of us as individuals.

For too long, we have stressed the obstacles we face instead of the possibilities we could exploit.

At the Joint Center, we are committed to making every effort to influence what the nation does, especially in those areas that directly affect black people. We consider it to be our mission to help enhance the capacity of blacks and other minorities to define, articulate, and otherwise pursue their interests in a competitive and sometimes hostile policymaking environment. We believe that this becomes increasingly important as we face a future in which progress will depend not on the resurrection of a sixties-style civil rights movement, but on the development of sensitive and timely policies and the broad-based support to implement those policies.

This is almost certainly what W. E. B. DuBois had in mind when he observed that when litigation and confrontation had been used to their fullest, a new approach to the pursuit of racial justice would emerge. "A highly trained cadre of blacks," DuBois wrote, "would be required . . . to use their knowledge and skills in the social sciences—in economics, in social policy, in public administration, and in political theory and practice—as instruments, indeed as weapons in the ongoing, more difficult struggle for social justice." ■

The Glow of the Rainbow

While Jesse Jackson Continues to Stun the Nation With His 1988 Primary Victories, the Question Remains Whether He Can Win the Democratic Nomination

by Dr. Linda F. Williams

A phenomenon of American politics is taking place in 1988. At rallies in rural towns and urban centers across the country, from Maine to Alaska, from Wisconsin to Texas, thousands of voters—white, black, and Hispanic blue-collar workers, farmers, college students, peace activists, the elderly, the unemployed, and others—are turning out in increasingly large numbers to hear the message of Democratic presidential candidate Jesse Louis Jackson. But unlike 1984, when Jackson's campaign generated interest but few votes, this year's effort is producing where it counts the most—at the polls.

What a difference four years make! While Jackson declared in 1984 that he would mobilize the support of the historically dispossessed in a "rainbow coalition" of blacks, Hispanics, Asians, women, young people, lower-income whites, and activists from liberal causes, that coalition barely blossomed. Today, however, the rainbow glows brightly.

Indeed, while Jackson was a distant third from the start to the finish of the 1984 Democratic nomination contest, the 1988 results have been surprisingly different. With three-fourths of the Democratic primary season complete, Jackson has stunned party officials, political analysts, long-term critics, and many supporters by running a close second in both the race for the popular vote and convention delegates. (According to the Associated Press, as of April 11, Michael Dukakis led Jackson by 79,305 popular votes, 3,575,964 [27.9 percent] to 3,496,659 [27.3 percent] and by 37 delegate votes, 744.55 to 707.55.)

Unlike four years ago, when Jackson won only the state of Louisiana and placed second in 1 state (Maryland), this year he has already won the plurality of the vote in 8 states: Louisiana, Virginia, Georgia, Mississippi, Alabama, South Carolina, Alaska, and Michigan. He has also finished second in 15 (see table 1, page 2, *TrendLetter*). In addition, Jackson has won primaries in the territories of Puerto Rico and the Virgin Islands.

Now, as the nominating contest moves to the delegate-rich states of New York, Pennsylvania, and Ohio, the campaign begins to take on a new focus. The question from some journalists, pundits, and voters is not so much "What does Jesse *really* want?, as it was in 1984 and the early part of this year's campaign, but instead it is "Is there a *stop* Jesse plan?" or "Can Jesse win in November?"

This article assesses the turnaround for Jackson in 1988 compared to 1984, looking first at his successes in the already completed primaries. It also analyzes the growth of Jackson's "rainbow support," identifying key factors behind that growth. Finally, it examines what would have to occur in the last set of primaries (starting with New York) for Jackson to go into the convention as the front-runner for the party nomination.

Expanding the Rainbow

Although the 1988 presidential nomination contest has been a year of surprises in both the Democratic and Republican parties, few events have been as astonishing as the results of Jesse Jackson's campaign. Two key factors explain Jackson's success so far: (1) nearly unanimous support from black voters, especially in southern states; and (2) the expansion of white support for Jackson.

The continuance of black voters as Jackson's most loyal base of support and their impact on his victories in the South were certainly expected. Six of the states carried by Jackson on March 8, Super Tuesday, have black populations which range from about one out of every five to one out of every three persons of voting age in the state, and blacks comprised an even larger share of the Democratic primary and caucus electorate in these six states—from 28 percent in North Carolina to 44 percent in Alabama and Mississippi.

What was unexpected, however, were results in several of the Super Tuesday states where Jackson came in second (particularly, Florida, Massachusetts, Missouri, Rhode Island, and Texas—all states with less than 12 percent black voting-age populations). Jackson's vote totals in these states were swelled by an expanding base of non-black support (table 2, page 3, *TrendLetter*). Overall, Jackson won 7 percent of the white vote in the South, according to CBS/*New York Times* exit poll data, and did much better in some other Super Tuesday states, such as Massachusetts and Virginia, than he did in 1984.

(Continued on page 5)

Dr. Williams is associate director of research at the Joint Center for Political Studies.

April 1988

JCPS

POLITICAL TRENDLETTER®

Inside This Issue

- **Data reveal that economic disparities between blacks and whites have increased since the 1968 Kerner Report.**
- **Breakdown of primary and caucus results to date, and profiles of Jesse Jackson's white support.**
- **Across the Nation: Civil rights advocates win voting rights case; Phillips loses bid for congressional seat in Louisiana; blacks run for Congress in Vermont and Virginia.**

Looking Backward: The Kerner Commission Report Revisited

The late 1960s saw major American urban centers engulfed in riots. Racial tensions were at an all time high, and as the plight of the nation's blacks was exposed, the United States faced international embarrassment. Midway through the long hot summer of 1967, in response to the escalating turmoil, President **LYNDON JOHNSON** formed the Commission on Civil Disorders and named **OTTO KERNER**, then governor of Illinois, as its chair. The commission's primary purpose was to investigate the causes of urban rebellions and recommend solutions. In its report, released in March 1968, the commission identified "white racism" as the chief cause of the disparities between the races and issued a dire warning: the nation was "moving toward two societies, one black, one white—separate and unequal." The assassination of **Dr. MARTIN LUTHER KING, JR.**, shortly after the report was issued, only reinforced the commission's conclusion.

Although a host of programs like those already underway in Johnson's Great Society were recommended by the commission to solve problems of inadequate housing, education, and unemployment, the main recommendation was national action aimed at producing a major goal: "a true union—a single society and a single American identity."

This edition of *TrendLetter* briefly addresses how blacks and whites have fared in the areas of economic well-being and political participation in the 20 years since the Kerner report was issued.

Recent data evaluating disparities in the living conditions of blacks and whites reveal that the two races remain as divided as ever along socioeconomic lines. For example, the median family income of blacks was only 60 percent that of whites in 1968 but in 1986 it had slipped even lower—to 57 percent. The rate of black unemployment, which had generally been twice the rate of white unemployment since World War II, had risen to 2.7 times that of whites as of March 1988. Furthermore, blacks were three times more likely than whites to live in poverty in 1986. And in the business sector, which the Johnson administration identified as an integral part of its attempt to improve black living conditions, blacks still generated only a small fraction of national production. **For example, in 1986 the total revenues from the combined sales of the 100 largest black-owned businesses were roughly the same as those for the 256th company on *Fortune* magazine's list of America's 500 biggest companies, according to the National Urban League.** However, while the living standards of the majority of blacks have deteriorated significantly, some blacks have prospered since 1968. As sociologist **WILLIAM J. WILSON** points out, there are three different black Americas: ". . .a black middle class that has experienced gradual progress. . . .a black working class that has had difficulty holding its economic position because it's been vulnerable to deindustrialization. . . .and a black underclass that is slipping further and further behind the rest of society."

Today, the proportion of whites with incomes over $50,000 is almost 2½ times that of blacks, and the proportion of blacks with incomes less than $5,000 is twice that of whites. In short, both the number of blacks living in poverty and the number of blacks who are affluent have increased, but the ranks of the black working class are gradually decreasing—indicating a progressive trend toward class polarization in black America.

The situation for blacks is more positive in the area of political participation than it is on the economic front. Over the last 20 years, gaps in black-white voter registration and turnout rates nationwide have narrowed considerably. In 1968, the racial gap in voter registration was 9 percentage points, and the gap in voter turnout was 12 percentage points. But by 1986, according to U.S. Census Bureau statistics, the gap in voter registration had narrowed to 1 percentage point, and the gap in turnout had narrowed to 4 percentage points.

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The growth in black voter participation has directly resulted in a substantial increase (by 4½ times) in the number of black elected officials (BEOs), from 1,469 in 1970 to 6,681 in 1987. Still, it is important to keep this progress in perspective. Blacks constitute only 1.4 percent of the total number of elected office holders in the nation, and the rate of growth among BEOs has slowed considerably since 1976. **One of the reasons for this slower growth is that blacks with political aspirations have begun to saturate the majority-black jurisdictions, but they still have a difficult time winning in places where the majority of the electorate is white.** According to the 1987 JCPS/Gallup survey, the higher the office, the less likely whites are inclined to vote for a well-qualified black candidate. Only 3 percent of whites said they would refuse to vote for a black for the school board, but 8 percent said they would refuse to vote for a black for governor, 10 percent said they would refuse to vote for a black for vice president, and 18 percent said they would refuse to vote for a black for president. Fifty-five percent of whites said that in a contest between a black and a white candidate for mayor of their city, they would vote for the white candidate based on race regardless of qualifications.

Blacks participated to a lesser degree in other forms of political activity such as lobbying, contributing to campaigns, and volunteering to work in campaigns. Less data are available to measure participation in these areas, but the JCPS/Gallup survey asked black and white respondents about their political involvement in activities other than voting and running for office. Respondents were asked if, in the last three years, they had talked to people about why they should vote for a certain candidate; attended a political meeting, rally, or dinner; contributed money to a political campaign; participated in a protest, march, or demonstration; lobbied a public official about a particular issue; or belonged to a political club, civil rights organization, or women's rights organization. **Slightly less than half of blacks (45 percent) and slightly more than half of whites (56 percent) had participated in any of these political activities. Whites were more likely to have participated in each form of activity except membership in civil rights or women's rights organization. The biggest racial gap was in lobbying. Only 11 percent of blacks reported that they had called or written to a public official about an issue, compared to 30 percent of whites.** Nine percent fewer blacks than whites reported that they had talked to people about why they should vote for a candidate, and 8 percent fewer blacks than whites reported that they had contributed money to a political campaign. Responses with respect to the other activities, however, demonstrated gaps of only 3 percentage points or less.

The data are clear on one central point: as far as the economical and political life of the nation is concerned, much remains to be changed before blacks and whites indeed become, in the words of the Kerner Commission, "one union."

Jackson: First or Second in 27 States

Thus far in the 1988 primary season, **JESSE JACKSON** has racked up 707.55 delegate and 3,575,964 popular votes (as of April 11), according to Associated Press tabulations. The following is a state-by-state breakdown of the percentages of votes won by each of the Democratic presidential candidates.

Table 1. Voting Percentages Received by Democratic Candidates in 1988 Primary and Caucus Elections, by State

	Date	Dukakis	Gephardt	Gore	Jackson	Simon	Other*
Iowa	Feb. 8	22%	**31%**	1%	9%	*27%*	10%
New Hampshire	Feb. 16	**36**	*20*	7	8	17	15
Minnesota	Feb. 23	**34**	7	1	*20*	18	19
South Dakota	Feb. 23	*31*	**44**	8	5	6	1
Maine	Feb. 28	**42**	3	1	*28*	4	22
Vermont	Mar. 1	**57**	6	0	*26*	5	0
Wyoming	Mar. 5	*26*	23	**27**	13	3	8
Alabama	Mar. 8	8	8	*37*	**44**	1	2
Arkansas	Mar. 8	*19*	12	**37**	17	2	13
Florida	Mar. 8	**41**	14	13	*20*	2	10
Georgia	Mar. 8	16	7	*32*	**40**	1	4
Hawaii	Mar. 8	**55**	2	1	*35*	1	6
Idaho	Mar. 8	**38**	1	8	*22*	7	24
Kentucky	Mar. 8	*19*	9	**46**	16	3	7
Louisiana	Mar. 8	15	11	*28*	**35**	1	7
Maryland	Mar. 8	**46**	8	9	*29*	3	5
Massachusetts	Mar. 8	**59**	10	5	*19*	1	6
Mississippi	Mar. 8	9	6	*34*	**44**	1	6
Missouri	Mar. 8	12	**58**	3	*20*	4	3
Nevada	Mar. 8	*26*	2	**30**	23	1	18
North Carolina	Mar. 8	20	6	**35**	*33*	1	5
Oklahoma	Mar. 8	17	*21*	**41**	13	2	6

Table 1, continued

	Date	Dukakis	Gephardt	Gore	Jackson	Simon	Other*
Rhode Island	Mar. 8	**70**	4	4	*16*	3	3
Tennessee	Mar. 8	3	2	**72**	*21*	1	1
Texas**	Mar. 8	**32****	14	20	*25***	2	7
Virginia	Mar. 8	22	5	*23*	**45**	2	3
Washington	Mar. 8	**44**	1	2	*35*	4	14
Amer. Samoa	Mar. 8	**39**	*22*	0	6	0	33
Alaska	Mar. 10	*31*	1	2	**35**	1	30
South Carolina	Mar. 12	6	2	*17*	**55**	*	20
North Dakota	Mar. 13	*31*	**44**	8	5	6	1
Illinois	Mar. 15	17	2	5	*31*	**43**	2
Kansas	Mar. 19	**36**	2	16	*31*	0	15
Puerto Rico	Mar. 20	*26*	3	17	**32**	21	1
Michigan	Mar. 26	*29*	13	1	**53**	5	0
Connecticut	Mar. 29	**58**		8	*28*	1	4
Colorado	Apr. 4	**43**	—	3	*35*	—	19
Wisconsin	Apr. 5	**48**	1	18	*28*	5	—

*Includes other candidates and uncommitted.

**Texas uses a hybrid primary-caucus system. The March 8 primary determined the allocation of 119 district-level delegates, while the results of a three-tiered caucus process that began with precinct caucuses on March 8 and will culminate with the state convention June 17-18 will determine the allocation of the 64 statewide delegate slots. At this writing, although Jackson trailed Dukakis in the March 8 primary, he now leads Dukakis by approximately 67 delegates to 62 delegates based on the results of the precinct caucuses.

Bold indicates winner. *Italic indicates second place finisher.* — indicates candidate received less than 0.5 percent.

Source: Associated Press

Younger, Better Educated Whites Support Jackson

Table 2. Demographic Profile of the White Vote for Jackson*

	Iowa	New Hampshire	Southern Regional
Total	11%	8%	7%
Sex			
Men	11	7	8
Women	12	9	6
Age			
Under 29 years old	14	10	9
30-44 years old	17	10	10
45-59 years old	8	8	7
60+ years old	4	4	4
Union Membership			
Union household	11	6	6
Not a union household	12	9	8
Political Philosophy			
Liberal	17	13	14
Moderate	8	6	6
Conservative	10	3	5
Agriculture dependent	9	NA**	5
Not agric. dependent	13	NA**	9
Education			
H.S. Grad or Less	8	3	2
Some College	13	8	5
College Grad.	11	11	11
Post-Grad.	15	13	17
Income			
Less than $12,500	15	8	7
$12,500-24,999	8	9	10
$25,000-34,999	15	7	9
$35,000-49,999	12	7	7
$50,000 +	8	12	6

*These are the most recent data available, as of April 15, 1988.

**Not applicable

Source: CBS/*New York Times* entrance poll in Iowa and exit polls in New Hampshire and Southern Regional

Across the Nation

CALIFORNIA: WILLIE BROWN, the first black speaker of the California assembly, entered the state's record books on March 7 by holding the office of speaker longer than any of his predecessors. Brown, who is also the national chairman of the Jesse Jackson presidential campaign, was selected as speaker in 1980 and filed for reelection in March to seek his 13th term as assemblyman from the 17th district (San Francisco). He attributes his longevity to his ability to "share every aspect of the speakership with all other members" according to the *Sun Reporter*, a black newsweekly. **In 1982, he broke all previous campaign fund-raising records in the state by raising $2.3 million and personally distributing large campaign contributions to 41 Democratic candidates for the assembly, further solidifying his control over that body.** Brown points to the passage of California's most comprehensive educational reform and financing legislation in the past 20 years, as well as a health care cost containment package, as prime examples of his leadership ability.

The question is, why has Brown, with his statewide political clout, not moved up to higher office? Black politicos nationally have long been concerned that blacks in local and state legislative posts rarely have the opportunity to move up to higher offices. But Brown says that for the present, this is not a problem for him. He reports that he is not interested in election to governor, senator, president, or any position other than speaker. "This is probably one of the best jobs in the country," Brown says. Odds are he will keep it.

ILLINOIS: As far as Chicagoans are concerned, the big news story last month may not have been the number of delegates state native sons Jesse Jackson and Sen. **PAUL SIMON** won in the March 15 Illinois Democratic primary. **Instead, the big election news items in the "Windy City" were the defeats of four of Mayor EUGENE SAWYER'S political allies in the their races for Cook County Democratic Committee member (the post of committeeman is a party position and carries no formal public responsibilities) and the loss of former Mayor JANE BYRNE to AURELIA M. PUCINSKI in the race for clerk of the Circuit Court of Cook County.** Black voters figured heavily in both results—defeating staunch Sawyer supporters in key black wards and giving Byrne less than 20 percent of their votes. The biggest election upset of the day was the defeat of 24th Ward Alderman **WILLIAM HENRY** as Cook County Democratic committeeman. Henry was trounced by **JESSE MILLER**, executive director of the Lawndale People's Planning and Action Council, who had turned his bitter contest with Henry into a referendum on Sawyer. Henry, the chief architect of Sawyer's December mayoral election by the city council to succeed the late Harold Washington, retains his post as alderman. Other aldermen who were defeated in their bids to become Democratic committeemen were **MARLENE CARTER** (15th) and **WILLIAM BEAVERS** (7th).

Alderman TIMOTHY EVANS (4th), Sawyer's chief opponent in the special December mayoral election and a likely contender for mayor three years from now, was a major beneficiary of the March election. Sawyer put on the best face possible in these defeats but admitted, "It shows I've got a lot of work to do." Meanwhile, professor **ROBERT STARKS**, a political pundit from Northwestern University, reports that some Chicago politicians and activists have begun to worry about whether blacks are becoming so divided by the Evans-Sawyer rivalry, that no black will win the 1991 mayoral election.

LOUISIANA: JUNE PHILLIPS, an administrator at Southern University, lost her long-shot congressional election bid on March 8 in a special election to fill the 4th Congressional District seat vacated by newly elected Democratic Gov. **BUDDY ROEMER**. Phillips, the only black and only woman in the seven-candidate race, came in fourth. Her only hope for making the runoff in this 28 percent black district was to secure at least 90 percent of the black vote. **She had calculated that Jesse Jackson would generate a high turnout of black voters at the polls and that she would be able to ride into a runoff election on Jackson's coattails. But while Jackson won 29 percent of the total vote in the district in the state's primary held on the same day, Phillips won only 13 percent of the total vote.** The black votes in the district were shared by a number of the other candidates, who were able to slice off portions of it for themselves. Still, Phillips made a stronger showing than was indicated in opinion surveys, where 5 percent of the respondents said they would vote for her.

In other state news, a civil rights victory for local activists was handed down by the U.S. Fifth Circuit Court of Appeals, which ruled in *Chisholm v Edwards* that the Voting Rights Act may be used to ensure that minority voting strength is not diluted in Louisiana judicial elections. The unanimous ruling, issued on February 29, which overturned an adverse lower court decision against a group of black plaintiffs led by the Louisiana Voter Registration/Education Crusade has national implications and may have an impact on similar cases in other states. The Crusade's suit contended that the multi-member district system for electing two of the Louisiana Supreme Court justices violates Section 2 of the Voting Rights Act by diluting the voting strength of the black majority in New Orleans. **MARC MORIAL**, general counsel of the Crusade and the son of former New Orleans Mayor **ERNEST "DUTCH" MORIAL**, declared that "The Court of Appeals decision is an important victory in breaking down invidious barriers to the selection of black judges in Louisiana." The state, whose voting-age population is 27 percent black, has never had a black justice on the seven-person Louisiana State Supreme Court.

MARYLAND: CLAYTON GREENE, JR., has become the first black judge in Anne Arundel County. Greene, the county deputy public defender and a former assistant county attorney, was named by Gov. **WILLIAM DONALD SCHAEFER** to the county's six-judge district court after the seat became vacant as a result of the death of Judge **MARTHA WYATT** last December. Black leaders in the county, which is 12 percent black, lobbied the governor heavily to name a black jurist to the post. Greene's nomination was confirmed by the Maryland senate on March 25.

In other judicial news in the state, the Maryland Senate Judicial Proceedings Committee rejected a Schaefer-backed constitutional amendment that would have ended a century-old system of contested elections for circuit court judges in favor of a system where judges would be appointed. A loose coalition of black and rural white lawmakers combined forces to reject the measure, arguing that competitive elections force judges to be accountable to the public and help racial and political minorities gain representation on the bench. Ten of the state's 109 circuit court judges are black.

VERMONT: DOLORES SANDOVAL, 50, a black professor at the University of Vermont is running for election to Congress. **Sandoval, a Democrat, is going after Vermont's at-large seat in the U.S. House of Representatives, which now belongs to seven- term Republican Congressman JAMES JEFFORDS, who is campaigning for the Senate. The state's senior senator, ROBERT STAFFORD, who is also a Republican, is retiring.** Although Vermont's voting-age population is less than 0.5 percent black, Sandoval is encouraged by the fact that 26 percent of the Vermont electorate voted for Jesse Jackson in the state's "beauty contest" primary on March 1. "Vermont is a state of free thinkers, where there is a tolerance for individuality," says Sandoval. She believes that the voters in the state will consider her merits and not her skin color. A former administrator of the University of Vermont, Sandoval is the only woman in the campaign. **She says her strength is in foreign policy since she has lived abroad in Europe, Africa, and Central America and has taught Third World studies for more than 6 years. Having lived and taught in the state for 17 years, Sandoval says she knows the needs of Vermonters.**

Three white male candidates are opposing Sandoval for the Democratic nomination. Three Republicans and two independents, including socialist Mayor Bernie Sanders of Burlington, are also running. The primary date is September 13.

The Glow of the Rainbow

(Continued from page 4)

Before Super Tuesday, Jackson had demonstrated that he had substantial white support in 1988, compared to 1984. In the Iowa and Minnesota caucuses and the New Hampshire, Maine, and Vermont primaries, his share of the vote grew steadily—all in states where blacks make up 1 percent or less of the total voting-age population. In short, this additional support had to come overwhelmingly from whites. In Maine, for example, Jackson won only 1 percent of the vote in 1984, but tallied 28 percent of the vote this year.

The Michigan caucuses resulted in the biggest surprise to date: Jackson won overwhelmingly with 55 percent of the vote. And in Connecticut, he came in second with 29 percent of the vote. In Wisconsin and Colorado, Jackson also did exceptionally well—coming in second in both states with over 35 percent of the vote. Both states have black voting-age populations of less than 4 percent. He may do even better with white voters in the upcoming contests in New York, Pennsylvania, and Ohio—states with large urban centers and numerous liberal and college educated whites.

Before the primary and caucus season began, few observers would have believed that any *black* contender for the Democratic nomination could do so well among white voters. Thus, unlike 1984, it can no longer be said that the single hue in Jesse Jackson's rainbow coalition is "basic black." While he still has won only a small minority of the white vote in many states that have held their delegate selection contests thus far, Jackson, nevertheless, not only has doubled the proportion of the white vote that he received in 1984, but he won more of the white vote on Super Tuesday than all of his competitors combined won of the black vote.

Analyzing Jackson's Success

A variety of factors (listed below) must be considered in explaining Jackson's higher level of support from non-blacks (especially whites) in 1988 compared to 1984. Which of these factors is most important in attracting "rainbow" support is difficult to ascertain, but one can be fairly certain that all are important in accounting for Jackson's success in winning the support of more whites.

A Broader Issue Agenda. Many observers believe that Jackson has placed less emphasis on some of his key campaign issues of 1984. For example, in 1984, he spoke often about the need "to renegotiate the contract between blacks and the Democratic party" and the need to eliminate the runoff primary in the South; he highlighted why affirmative action programs were necessary, as well as minority business set-aside programs; and he practically forced the issue of sanctions against the regime of South Africa into the Democratic presidential debates. All of these were issues which blacks expressed substantially more interest in than did other groups.

But the issue agenda he was best known for in 1984 has, in fact, changed dramatically this year. Jackson is now seen as the candidate who seeks to place a moratorium on farm foreclosures; produce more corporate taxes to pay for social programs; invest billions of dollars in low-income housing and research and development projects; reduce the role of the military and the threat of military force as a tool of foreign policy; double the federal education budget for better quality public schools; push universal health and daycare; produce a vigorous war against drug abuse; and to increase the minimum wage. Certainly, these are all issues which blacks have a vested interest in, but they are rarely considered to be simply "black" issues. To some observers, this means Jackson has "mainstreamed" his approach in an attempt to broaden his support; if so, this strategy appears to be working.

Organization. Jackson's success can also be traced to a much better organized campaign. His announcement to run for the 1988 nomination, which came much earlier than in 1984, allowed more time for a national and local campaign strategy to be established.

Moreover, now he has a genuinely rainbow staff and a rainbow team of advisors who are helping him shape his message, recruit volunteers among whites, and seek votes from a broader constituency. Nevertheless, much of the work in turning out voters is being performed by the local rainbow organizations that were established in states such as Alabama and Georgia in 1984. These organizations, which also played a part in the 1986 Democratic Senate victories in the South, should get a great share of the credit for mobilizing Jackson voters in 1988.

Increased Campaign Finances. Rather than relying as heavily on small fund-raisers in black churches and throughout black communities as it did in 1984, the Jackson campaign has built a technologically sophisticated fund-raising operation based on mail and telephone solicitations. In February alone, campaign staffers reported that Jackson raised $400,000 from direct mail solicitations aimed mainly at liberal whites. By the end of February, the campaign had raised $3.6 million. And while this total is still much less than the funds raised by other Democratic candidates, it now seems apparent that Jackson will raise much more than the $6 million he raised in 1984.

More Endorsements. Jackson is undoubtedly helped by a more expansive list of endorsers in 1988. He has won the support of a larger number of black leaders, as well as ranking white Democratic party leaders and elected officials. This list includes Jim Hightower, Texas agriculture commissioner; Bert Lance, the former budget director of the Office of Management and Budget for the Carter administration; Ann Lewis, the former director of Americans for Democratic Action (ADA); Vance Hartke, a former senator from Indiana;

(Continued on page 8)

Black Youth Face an Uncertain Jobs Future

Growing Racial Disparities in Employment Signal Need for Policy Changes

by Dr. Margaret C. Simms

While the U.S. economy continued to expand during 1987, gains made by black youth did not keep pace with the progress of their white counterparts. Data from the U.S. Bureau of Labor Statistics (BLS), illustrating slow expansion in black youth employment and college attendance, are disturbing indicators that young blacks may not fare well in the future. The gap in employment between blacks and whites may widen over the next decade as the changing economy produces a larger proportion of jobs requiring highly trained workers.

Economic Growth in 1987

The stock market slide in October of 1987 obscured the fact that the U.S. economy continued to expand last year. Over three million jobs were added to the economy, according to the BLS, with the unemployment rate declining steadily over the year from an annual average rate of 7.0 percent in 1986 to 6.2 percent in 1987. And by December, the civilian unemployment rate stood at 5.8 percent. The BLS reports that the number of discouraged workers (those who have stopped looking for jobs because they do not think they can find them) dropped to just over 900,000 in the fourth quarter of 1987, the lowest it has been since the fourth quarter of 1979—a year of similar economic growth and relatively low unemployment.

Black workers shared in the job expansion, picking up just under 500,000 jobs over the course of last year. The overall unemployment rate for blacks dropped from 14.5 percent in 1986 to 13.0 percent in 1987, while the employment-to-population ratio for blacks (the proportion of the population over the age of 16 that is employed) rose to 55.6 percent, a new high.

Despite these advances, blacks made few gains in the labor force relative to whites. The 13.0 percent black unemployment rate was nearly 2½ times the 5.3 percent rate for whites. And the employment-to-population ratio was nearly seven percentage points less than that for white workers (62.3 percent). Blacks were also disproportionately represented among discouraged workers. (See *Focus*, April 1987, "Update on the Job Status of Blacks.")

Fewer Jobs for Black Youth

The largest differences in employment between blacks and whites in 1987 were among young people under the age of 25. Black youth seeking work were twice as likely as white youth not to be hired. And since unemployment rates exclude individuals who are not looking for work, they tend to understate joblessness among black youth. Only one-quarter of all black teenagers 16 to 19 years of age had jobs for some period during 1987, compared with nearly one-half of all white teenagers. About 1.4 million or just over one-half of black youth aged 20 to 24 were employed at some time in the year, while three-quarters of the whites in that age group held jobs.

BLS data also reveal that *nearly two-thirds of black teenage males did not work at all* during 1986, compared to only one-third of white teenage males and one-half of Hispanic teenage males. And close to one-quarter of black males between the ages of 20 and 24 were jobless the entire year, while less than one-tenth of white males in that age group reported not working.

Large differences existed between black and white females as well. Nearly two-thirds of black teenage females, and one-third of black females in their early 20s, did not work at all during 1986. These proportions were twice as high as those for white females in the same age groups.

There were several reasons for the disparities in employment between black and white youth. First, black youth were less likely to be in the labor force, that is, to be among those actively seeking work. Only 57.3 percent of blacks between 16 and 24 were in the labor force, compared to 70.8 percent of whites.

About 17 percent of black youth (mostly young women with children) had home responsibilities that kept them out of the work force. This was also true of 18 percent of young whites. Only 4 percent of black youth reported that they were not looking for work because they thought they could not get a job. Even so, that was twice the rate for white youth.

Dr. Simms is deputy director of research at the Joint Center for Political Studies.

The unemployment rate for black teenagers was 34.7 percent in 1987, and the rate for blacks between the ages of 20 and 24 was 21.8 percent. These compare with rates of 14.4 percent for white teens and 8.0 percent for whites in their early 20s.

Table 1. Unemployment Rates by Age, Race, and Gender, 1987

	Unemployment Rate			
	% Blacks		% Whites	
Age	Male	Female	Male	Female
All Workers Over 16	12.7	13.2	5.4	5.2
16-19 Years	34.4	34.9	15.5	13.4
20-24 Years	20.3	23.3	8.4	7.4
25-29 Years	13.0	14.8	5.5	5.3

Source: U.S. Bureau of Labor Statistics, *Employment and Earnings,* January 1988.

Jobs and Education

Both labor force participation and unemployment are closely linked to educational attainment. Regardless of race, individuals without high school diplomas are much less likely to be employed than those with 12 or more years of education. However, even when blacks and whites with the same amount of education are compared, there are racial disparities in joblessness and in expected earnings. Data from the Washington-based Children's Defense Fund show that black males 20 to 24 years of age who had not graduated from high school had mean earnings of only $2,825 in 1984, compared to $7,674 for young white males who had not completed high school.

Blacks in their 20s and early 30s who had low levels of education were less likely than their white counterparts to be in the labor force in 1987. Furthermore, they had unemployment rates that were more than twice those of whites with similar educational backgrounds.

Table 2. Unemployment Rates by Educational Attainment, Race, and Gender for Workers Between 25 and 34 Years of Age, 1987

	Unemployment Rate			
	% Blacks		% Whites	
Age	Male	Female	Male	Female
Less Than 4 Years of High School	23.5	25.4	14.0	14.7
4 Years of High School	13.9	15.9	7.2	6.5
1-3 Years of College	7.9	9.2	5.0	4.0
4 or More Years of College	5.0	4.8	2.8	2.3

Source: U.S. Bureau of Labor Statistics, "Educational Attainment of Workers," March 1987.

While differences in employment between the races were smaller among those with more education and among individuals in their late 20s, blacks still suffered greater joblessness than whites at every age and educational level.

Prospects for the Future

Despite the fact that the overall black population is younger than the white population, and therefore will become a larger part of the work force in the future, the employment outlook for black youth without at least some college education is not promising. The BLS projects that the black work force will grow almost twice as fast as the white work force over the next 12 years (1.8 percent per year vs. 1.0 percent). In addition, the BLS forecasts that in the year 2000 blacks will constitute more than 17 percent of the American labor force, compared to just under 11 percent of the labor force in 1987. However, this relative increase in representation will not necessarily mean lower rates of joblessness. Skill requirements for workers will increase, with a larger proportion of jobs requiring at least one year of college.

An examination of the distribution of occupational growth shows that job opportunities will be greater in high paying, white collar jobs over the next 12 years. While overall employment is projected to expand 19 percent, employment in executive, administrative, and managerial categories is expected to grow by nearly 29 percent. Moreover, jobs in professional fields will grow 27 percent, while opportunities for technicians and related support workers will increase about 38 percent. Currently, the individuals holding those jobs have from 1 to 6 years of college or university education. Thus, the prospects for those who do not go on to college are limited.

In 1987, only 34 percent of blacks in the labor force had 1 or more years of college, compared with 46 percent of white workers. While the high school graduation rate for blacks continues to rise, their college attendance rate has declined. About 2.8 million young Americans of all races graduated from high school in 1986, and more than one-half of them, 54 percent, had enrolled in college by October of that year. But while blacks were 13.8 percent of the high school graduates, they were only 9.4 percent of college freshmen. Today only one-quarter of black high school graduates 18 to 24 years of age are in college compared to over a third of white high school graduates, and the gap between black and white college entrants is now larger than it has been in 20 years.

The inability of black youth to share proportionately in college enrollment and employment opportunities is a problem not only for the youth of today and their families but for the larger economy as well. If the United States is to increase its economic competitiveness in the international market place, policies must be implemented to increase black college enrollment and to provide more job opportunities for black youth across the board. ■

The Glow of the Rainbow

(Continued from page 5)

and John C. White, the former chairman of the Democratic National Committee (DNC). Endorsements have also come from lesser-known white state and local officials and heads of farm and labor unions.

Can Jackson Win?

Only 14 states and the District of Columbia have yet to hold their nomination contests: primaries in New York, Pennsylvania, Ohio, the District of Columbia, Indiana, Nebraska, West Virginia, Oregon, California, Montana, New Mexico, and New Jersey; and caucuses in Arizona, Utah, and Delaware.

How is the Jackson candidacy likely to fare in the remaining nomination contests? The answer clearly depends on whether Jackson can continue to expand his white support, and, if so, by what amount. None of the upcoming primary states have enough blacks to allow Jackson to break the 15 percent delegate threshold on the basis of the black vote alone. Delaware, New Jersey, New York, and Pennsylvania, for instance, have black voting-age populations that range from 11 to 15 percent. And only 21 of the 174 congressional districts in the remaining 14 states have black populations that make up 15 percent or more of the total population. Thus, for Jackson to expand his delegate count, he must expand his white support beyond the 20 to 25 percent that he has won in earlier contests. To be the front-runner in the delegate count by the end of the primary season, Jackson must come in first in a number of the remaining contests.

Is this scenario possible? If the Michigan results are the harbinger of the future, the answer is "yes." If Connecticut, Wisconsin, and Colorado are examples of what is to come, the answer is clearly "no."

Analysis of recent poll data indicates that Jackson is within striking distance of Dukakis in some states. In New York, a Marist Institute for Public Opinion poll in early April showed Dukakis with a 16 percentage point lead over Jackson. Some observers, however, including Gov. Mario Cuomo, believe that the poll underestimates Jackson's true support. Moreover, a Teichner poll conducted in California in early March, before the Wisconsin primary, revealed that while approximately a third of California's likely Democratic voters remain undecided, those who had a candidate preference gave Dukakis only a 7 percentage point lead over Jackson. In several smaller states, however, Dukakis continues to hold a formidable lead. For example, in West Virginia, a poll conducted by the *Charleston Gazette* showed Dukakis leading Jackson by better than three to one.

Yet, if this election year has revealed anything, it is how volatile the American electorate is, how each primary and caucus contest seemingly ignores the patterns in the previous ones and shakes up the odds in those that follow.

The only thing that is clear is that for Jackson to lead in the delegate count by the end of the primary season he has to win far more of the white vote than current national polls indicate he will win, or a third candidate, e.g., Al Gore, must begin to rack up a substantial share of delegates and make it a real three-way contest. Thus, much depends on what happens in New York. An upset victory for Jackson in this state might very well provide him with the momentum he needs. ■

New Book From JCPS

Tom Bradley's Campaigns for Governor: The Dilemma of Race and Political Strategies, Thomas F. Pettigrew and Denise A. Alston, 1988.

Drs. Pettigrew and Alston examine the various explanations that have been given for Los Angeles Mayor Tom Bradley's losses in the 1982 and 1986 California gubernatorial campaigns. They conclude that racism—often deemphasized as a factor in Bradley's losses—*did indeed* play a major role. The authors argue that a significant number of Californians—enough to cause his defeat—voted *against* Bradley because he is black. They also offer important advice for all black candidates running against whites for office today.

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Black Leaders Gather at the Fifth National Policy Institute to Discuss Critical Policy Issues

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Focusing on Defense

In this issue Dr. Edwin Dorn writes about Executive Order 9981, which was issued by President Truman 40 years ago this July. That historic directive had two important ramifications: it brought about the desegregation of the armed forces and, at least indirectly, it set the stage for the later desegregation of the civilian society.

There is a certain irony in the fact that the U.S. military, generally regarded as one of the nation's most conservative institutions, led the way in providing equal opportunity. But the evidence is overwhelming that it did so.

Many Americans, black and white, had their first exposure to mandated interracial cooperation in the armed services. The military gave the nation a unique opportunity to see blacks in positions of authority over whites. As a result of Executive Order 9981, black officers were commanding white soldiers more than a decade before Harvard University, a bastion of racial enlightenment, had black full professors teaching its undergraduates.

Black Americans have come to play a vital role in this nation's defense establishment. While blacks today are only 12 percent of the U.S. population, they are about 20 percent of the people on active duty in the armed forces. And, of course, this includes Army Lieutenant General Colin Powell, President Reagan's national security advisor.

The high representation of blacks in the military is one very good reason for black Americans to pay close attention to defense policy. Another good reason is that the defense establishment touches our lives in many ways and helps to secure the freedom we all enjoy. Therefore, it is not enough for us merely to complain about excessive defense spending or about a president's preference for guns instead of butter. We need to know much more about how defense policies are made and by whom, and about how those policies affect the nation as a whole and the black community in particular.

The 1988 presidential election gives us an opportunity to learn about the nation's defense policies and, through our votes, to influence the choice of future policies. As we listen to the candidates, and particularly as we press them to explain their positions on national security, we should keep several things in mind:

1. The United States has worldwide strategic interests, and protecting those interests is costly. When a candidate proposes to reduce defense spending, he should be asked precisely what that means: are we going to reduce our commitments in Europe, the Far East, and elsewhere, or does the candidate have a plan for meeting current commitments with fewer dollars?

2. In principle, one way to reduce the nation's defense budget is to get our European and Japanese allies to bear more of the burden of collective defense. But Japanese defense spending is restricted by law, and political pressures against increased defense spending by our European allies are very strong. So, is talk about greater "burden sharing" a realistic approach, or just empty campaign rhetoric?

3. One of the terrifying characteristics of the nuclear age is that, in terms of destructive potential, nuclear weapons are cheaper than conventional bombs and bullets. When a candidate proposes to reduce defense spending, is he, perhaps unwittingly, implying a willingness to rely more heavily on this country's nuclear deterrent?

As voters, as taxpayers, and as a group whose members play a vital role in this country's military, black Americans need to ensure that the candidates offer clear answers to these and other questions about defense policy. ■

Eddie N. Williams

PRESIDENT

FOCUS

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Truman and the Desegregation of the Military

On the Eve of Executive Order 9981's Fortieth Anniversary, JCPS Looks at How This Historic Decision Transformed the Armed Services

by Edwin Dorn

Forty years ago this summer, the United States was approaching its first presidential election in the post-Roosevelt, postwar era. Having emerged from the Second World War as the world's preeminent power, the nation confronted fundamental choices about its role in world affairs, the restoration of its domestic economy, and its unresolved racial dilemma.

Against this backdrop, on July 26, 1948, President Harry S. Truman issued Executive Order 9981, calling for "equality of treatment and opportunity for all persons in the armed services without regard to race, color, religion or national origin." Although it was conceived, in part, as an appeal to black voters who could be decisive in Truman's hard-fought presidential campaign against Thomas Dewey, the executive order has had a profound and lasting impact on our society.

As a result of Truman's order, the military became one of the first major American institutions to desegregate and to routinely place blacks in positions of authority over whites.* And by showing that changes in the racial status quo could occur successfully, the armed services helped ease resistance to the movement of blacks into leadership positions in civilian society.

But the ramifications of Truman's order were not immediately clear. Arguments over its implementation—for example, whether it required totally "color-blind" admissions, assignments, and promotions—presaged controversies over equal opportunity that persist to this day.

Segregation in the Military

Since the founding of the Republic, black Americans' experiences in the armed services had mirrored their experiences in the nation as a whole. They were placed in segregated units, confined to the lowest ranks, and usually assigned to labor details rather than to combat-related duties. Black officers and noncommissioned officers were not permitted to command whites. At the beginning of World War II, the army had a 10 percent quota on black enlistments, the navy admitted blacks only as mess stewards, and the Marine Corps was exclusively white, as it had been since the late 18th century.

Pressure from civil rights leaders such as Walter White of the NAACP and T. Arnold Hill of the National Urban League—as well as from black civilians inside the War Department (now the Department of the Army) like William Hastie, the race relations advisor to Secretary of War Henry L. Stimson—led to minor changes during the war. The army desegregated most of its officer candidate schools, for example. But Hastie resigned when blacks in the Army Air Corps were sent to segregated training at Tuskegee Institute.

The navy opened up more career specialties to blacks during the war and in 1944 commissioned its first black officers. But with the exception of mess stewards, blacks generally were not permitted to serve aboard ships. The Marine Corps began admitting blacks in 1942, but it assigned them to segregated labor units and did not commission a single black officer until November 1945.

Military leaders claimed they were opposed to discrimination. The prevailing "separate but equal" doctrine, however, led them to draw a distinction between discrimination and segregation. Immediately after the war, therefore, Pentagon officials sought the most "efficient" ways to use all-black units, not ways to desegregate the units themselves. Most military leaders were convinced that segregation was efficient, and the consensus among them was that the armed services should not take the lead in doing what the rest of American society had not done.

Politics and Military Necessity

While black leaders supported the military's emphasis on efficiency, they argued that a segregated force was highly inefficient because it limited the contributions of blacks and forced the military into administrative contortions. At some military bases, for example, black units were overstaffed while white units on the same bases were critically short of personnel.

Further, many blacks believed that equal opportunity was a moral imperative: military service was a badge of full citizenship. And black leaders were increasingly willing and able to press for more rapid change. By the

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* Executive Order 9980, also issued on July 26, 1948, required equal opportunity in the federal government's civilian bureaucracy.

1940s, the gradualist approach of Booker T. Washington had given way to the more vigorous strategies advocated by scholar-activist W.E.B. DuBois and union leader A. Philip Randolph, whose threatened 1940 march on Washington had caused Roosevelt to order fairer treatment of blacks in war-related civilian industries (though not in the military).

By 1948, the potential political power of a unified and increasingly impatient black community was one of the forces that led Truman to issue Executive Order 9981. Attracted by jobs in wartime industries, hundreds of thousands of blacks had migrated from the South, where most of them had been disenfranchised, to northern and western states, where their votes could affect the outcome of a close presidential election.

In the three presidential elections preceding 1948, blacks had cast a majority of their votes for Roosevelt. But their loyalty to Roosevelt's party was not assured. The Democratic party contained a strong segregationist faction, and New York Governor Thomas Dewey, the Republican presidential nominee, was at least as strong on civil rights as Truman.

Sensing that the election would be close, Truman knew he needed to do something to shore up the black vote. But he also knew that the equal rights bills being urged by civil rights advocates would not pass Congress, and he worried that by raising the issue he might compromise other parts of his legislative agenda, including his plan to retain a strong military establishment.

As it turned out, military necessity, fueled by the Cold War, contributed as much to Truman's decision to issue Executive Order 9981 as did electoral politics. As a result of Truman's policy of "containing communism," the United States, for the first time in its history needed to maintain a large peacetime military force. This meant that large numbers of young men were needed. But the generation reaching draft age in the late 1940s and early 1950s had been born during the depression, when economic hard times had reduced birthrates. Whether it wished to do so or not, the U.S. military would have to rely heavily on blacks to compensate for the shortage of white recruits. Military necessity, therefore, gave black leaders new leverage. A. Philip Randolph drove the point home by threatening to encourage young black men to refuse to register for the draft if the armed forces did not promise them fairer treatment.

The Executive Order

Truman's carefully worded executive order, calling for "equality of treatment and equal opportunity," was strong enough to attract black support during the 1948 election. But it was also vague enough to avoid negative reactions from Southern segregationist "Dixiecrats" in Congress. For example, the order did not instruct the armed services to desegregate or to eliminate racial quotas on enlistments.

The president appointed former solicitor general Charles Fahy to chair an advisory committee to review existing military procedures and make recommendations concerning the order's implementation. Two blacks were on the seven-member committee: *Chicago Defender* publisher John Sengstacke and Navy Secretary James Forrestal's race relations advisor Lester Granger, a former official of the National Urban League.

Without a clear mandate from the executive order to desegregate, each service interpreted Truman's order to suit its convenience. The army argued that segregation was both the most efficient and the fairest way to use black enlistees—"efficient" because it avoided the social disruptions that supposedly would accompany integration, and "fair" because it allowed blacks to compete for promotions with other blacks rather than with better-educated whites. Further, the army had the lowest enlistment standards of all the services and argued that it needed to retain racial quotas in order to avoid being swamped by "professional black privates" who, it believed, could qualify for enlistment but lacked the skills needed to advance.

The Fahy committee turned the efficiency argument on its head. After months of debate, army officials conceded to the committee that assigning people to jobs on the basis of race rather than on the basis of individual skills was poor management practice. Segregation, therefore, was admitted to be inefficient.

On the question of racial quotas, however, Army Secretary Gordon Gray found a compromise that substituted "achievement quotas" for explicit racial quotas. The services had used standardized achievement tests since the First World War, and on average blacks scored lower than whites. Thus, by raising its test-score requirements, the army could limit black enlistments without appearing to be out of step with the executive order. Truman approved Gray's proposal, and on March 27, 1950, the army rescinded racial quotas on enlistments.

The Final Barriers

The Korean War (1950-53) caused the military to accelerate the process of desegregation. Since civilian and military authorities had already conceded that segregation was inefficient, field commanders in Korea started assigning black soldiers to white units as combat replacements. The desegregated units performed well in combat, with little of the racial friction that had been feared. Desegregation was then extended to units in the U.S. and Europe. The last major all-black unit, the army's 94th Engineer Battalion in Europe, was deactivated in November 1954.

While the civilian society in 1954 was making its first fitful steps toward the recognition that desegregation and equal opportunity were inextricably linked, the armed services were already well along the road toward

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The Changing Black Family: Implications for Children

by Margaret C. Simms

> *We are all aware of the critical role that families play in our communities and in our nation. Families give children the basics: food, clothing, and shelter. The family shapes their values and aspirations. It provides them with the support and encouragement they need in order to be successful. . . . The family, both nuclear and extended, has been vital to blacks in all these ways and more.*
>
> Eddie N. Williams
> President, JCPS
> Racine, Wisconsin
> November, 1987

The crucial child-rearing function of the family makes it an indispensable institution in all societies. But as a result of significant changes in the black family, more and more black children in America are being born into families that lack the structure and means to adequately support their development into productive adults.

The most notable change has been the growth in female-headed families. Over the past 25 years, there has been a dramatic decline in the proportion of blacks who are married. Blacks marry later, and they divorce and separate more often than whites. At the same time, blacks are only slightly less likely to have children than in the past.

As a result of some of these structural changes, one out of every two black children in 1985 lived in single-parent families headed by women, as compared with one in four in 1960. And two-thirds of the children in such households grow up in poverty. Furthermore, households headed by very young mothers (in their teens and early twenties) are even more disadvantaged, with 9 out of 10 children in such families living in poverty. Data reveals that these children are more likely to be delinquents, drug abusers, and teen mothers.

Last November, the Joint Center and the Johnson Foundation cosponsored a conference to review a variety of research issues focusing on the black family. The conference, held at the foundation's Wingspread Conference Center in Racine, Wisconsin, was part of a larger Joint Center study of the changing black family as it affects the living conditions of black children. (This study is funded by a grant from the Carnegie Corporation of New York.) Those who participated in the Wingspread proceedings included researchers in the disciplines of economics, sociology, psychology, and demography, and representatives of advocacy organizations. The conference included five sessions which focused on the following topics: the major trends in family structure, causes of changes in black family structure, teen parenting, consequences of change for children, and available data for family research.

Trends in Black Family Structure

University of Michigan demographer Reynolds Farley provided a statistical overview of the formation and dissolution of families, especially black families, over the period from 1960 to 1985. He said the dramatic increase in the age at which black men and women first marry is the biggest change in family structure. While over 60 percent of black women were married before age 25 in 1960, only 24 percent were married by that age in 1985. In addition, marriages today are much more likely to end in divorce than was the case before 1970. Although some changes in marriage patterns have taken place among whites as well, the changes for blacks are greater and of more profound consequence.

Traditionally, blacks married at earlier ages than whites in the United States, but that trend was reversed in the 1950s, and whites now marry at much younger ages. Given blacks' later marriages, higher divorce rates, and lower remarriage rates, researchers have estimated that black women today can expect to spend only 16 years of their 73-year life span with a husband, while white women can expect to spend 33 years of their 76-year life span with a husband. Increasingly, then, black families are being headed by women without marital partners.

The Living Arrangements of Children

Farley also noted that this greater marital instability has had negative implications for children who are forced to spend a substantial part of their childhood in a single-parent family. But marital instability is only one of the reasons the majority of black children are living with their mothers alone. Another reason is that increasing numbers of black children are being born to unwed women. In 1960, only one-fifth of all black babies were born to unwed mothers; by 1985 three-fifths of black babies were born to unwed mothers.

Contrary to popular opinion, there has not been a great increase in childbearing, even among teenagers, noted Karen Pittman of the Washington-based Children's Defense Fund. In fact, the birthrate of

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children born to black teens has declined. However, the proportion of black teens who marry before their babies are born has dwindled to 10 percent. The fact that a majority of the black children born in recent years have been born to women without husbands therefore is not due to changes in rates of childbearing but to changes in the propensity to marry. This phenomenon is not restricted to teenagers. In 1985, two-thirds of the babies born to unmarried black women were born to women over the age of 19.

Consequences for Children

These changes have led to a situation in which, as Farley noted, "the raising of children is increasingly a female rather than a joint responsibility." Children raised in one-parent households who depend solely on their mothers for economic resources are much more likely to be living in poverty than children in two-parent families. They are particularly disadvantaged because black women have lower earnings than black men and whites. Furthermore, only one-third of black women who head families are employed full-time, year-round (see table).

The disadvantages of being raised in a single-parent family go beyond economics. Research conducted by Sara McLanahan, a sociologist at the University of Wisconsin, indicates that even when studies controlled for the lower economic resources available to single-parent families, the children in these families are more likely to drop out of high school, have lower school achievement levels, bear children as teenagers, and, if they marry early, are more likely to divorce. "I have never seen any outcome that [the disadvantages of single-parenthood] didn't show up in," said McLanahan. "It shows in alcohol and drug use, and delinquency—all these areas of behavior."

In addition to poverty, the absence of another adult in the household with whom the child can interact seems to be a determinant of the low achievement levels and antisocial behavior of many children in single-parent families. Both Mark Testa, a sociologist at the University of Chicago, and James Stewart, an economist with Pennsylvania State University, said their studies indicate that adults in the household (in addition to the mother) have a positive influence on children. If the father is not present, other adults—grandparents, stepfathers, and even nonrelatives—can substitute in certain ways. Stewart also pointed out that extended-family relationships increase the likelihood that single mothers have employment. Unfortunately, he noted, the extended family in which the grandmother stays home to take care of the children while the mother works, appears to be declining. Quite often, the grandmother has a job of her own.

> ***Contrary to popular opinion, there has not been a great increase in childbearing, even among teenagers. In fact, the birthrate of children born to black teens has declined.***

Why the Decline in Marriage?

While there was general agreement among conference participants on the trends in family composition, there was much less agreement on the causes of the trends. A number of hypotheses were put forth by Farley, Stewart, Neil Bennett of Yale University, and Phillip Bowman of the University of Illinois. All of the participants rejected the "welfare" hypothesis, that is, the argument that women prefer not to marry so that they can be eligible for welfare benefits.

The group was divided on the validity of the "sex ratio" hypothesis as an explanation for much of the decline in marriage among blacks. The premise of this

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Percentage of Black and White Children Living Below the Poverty Line in 1984, by Type of Family

	Black Children			White Children		
Age (Years)	Total	Female-Headed Families	All Other Families	Total	Female-Headed Families	All Other Families
Total (0-17)	46.2	66.2	24.3	16.1	45.9	11.0
0-2	52.0	74.6	28.4	17.9	63.4	12.7
3-5	49.2	69.4	28.5	18.6	57.3	12.7
6-13	47.2	67.9	23.3	16.0	44.3	10.8
14-15	39.6	58.6	18.3	13.7	37.2	9.0
16-17	35.8	50.1	21.4	12.6	31.8	8.4

Source: U.S. Bureau of the Census, *Current Population Reports,* Series P-60, No. 152.

May 1988

POLITICAL TRENDLETTER®

Inside This Issue

- **Michael Dukakis and George Bush are the apparent presidential nominees of their parties; now the question is who they will choose as running mates.**
- **Jesse Jackson continues his race for the nomination by challenging the Democratic party's delegate selection process.**
- **Across the Nation: Justice Department challenges Alabama's segregated universities; Ed Cole remains head of Mississippi Democrats; Minority and progressive white coalition may organize to defeat Mayor Ed Koch in the 1989 New York mayoral race.**

Election '88 Update: It's All Over But the Shouting!

Vice President GEORGE BUSH went over the top in the April 26 Pennsylvania primary with enough delegates to clinch the Republican nomination. In the Democratic primaries, the turning point for MICHAEL DUKAKIS was New York, where he beat JESSE JACKSON by 14 points, winning a clear 51 percent majority of the vote. Coming away from that contest with a disappointing 10 percent, Tennessee Sen. **ALBERT GORE** further simplified the race by choosing to withdraw. Since New York, Jackson's proven ability to draw black voters to the polls has been evident, but his portion of the white vote has shrunk in most primaries since Gore is no longer there to split the white vote. In the ensuing two-man primary race, Dukakis has picked up many of the whites who would have voted for Gore, and he should run strongly in California and New Jersey in the final primaries June 7.

In New York, the gap between white and black voter preferences began to widen, with Jackson claiming over 90 percent of the black vote but only 15 percent of the white vote (25 percent of the non-Jewish white vote). And while Jackson carried New York City, he came in a distant second in the state overall (with a final tally of 37 percent).

While Jackson went on to win the overwhelming majority of black votes in Pennsylvania and Ohio, Dukakis's margin of victory widened as Jackson's share of white support dwindled. Jackson fell behind not only because his white support decreased but because blacks make up a smaller proportion of the voting-age populations in the states that held primaries after New York.

Results in Pennsylvania, Ohio, Indiana, Nebraska, and West Virginia bear this out. In each of these states, Jackson won less than 30 percent of the vote. (See table on page 3 of Trendletter)

Because the June 7 California and New Jersey primaries will provide 314 and 109 delegates respectively, Jackson optimistically asserts that the race is "not over until it's over." Nevertheless, simple electoral arithmetic shows that Dukakis, with his growing lead in delegate and popular votes, has all but wrapped up the contest. Most observers believe that Dukakis, with 1,643 delegates as of May 20 (more than three-fourths of what he needs to win), will be handed the nomination on the first ballot at the July convention. Jackson had 974 delegates by May 20.

The only unanswered question on the minds of many insiders, then, concerns Dukakis's choice for the vice presidential slot. On the Democratic side, few believe Jesse Jackson will be tapped for the position. Historically, it has been rare for a presidential candidate to choose a campaign rival to share the ticket. But before he can eliminate Jackson from consideration altogether, Dukakis must consider whether he would be alienating Jackson's loyal and enthusiastic black supporters, voters whose participation would have to be considered essential to a Democratic victory in November.

If not Jackson, then who is likely to get the Democratic vice presidential nod? **A growing number of pundits have argued that a ticket led by Dukakis, a Northern liberal, should be balanced by a Southern moderate or conservative. In this connection, the name of Sen. SAM NUNN of Georgia comes up most frequently. Nunn would shore up Dukakis's lack of Washington and foreign-policy experience and, more**

importantly, he would appeal strongly to white Southerners. But two questions plague the discussions of Nunn's chances: First, would Nunn trade his chairmanship of the powerful Senate Armed Services Committee for the number-two spot on the Democratic ticket? Second, how would Nunn fare among blacks, women's groups, progressive whites, and organized labor, all strong elements of the Democratic party?

MOLLY YARD, president of the National Organization of Women (NOW), has already pointed to Nunn as someone who might not be acceptable to her organization, and Jackson has so far remained noncommittal, presumably because of Nunn's soft record of support for civil rights and social legislation.

Other Southern politicians whose names are currently being floated include erstwhile presidential candidate Gore (who won seven states on Super Tuesday, five of them in the South); Florida senator and former governor **BOB GRAHAM** and Texas Sen. **LLOYD BENTSEN,** both from states rich in electoral votes; and Sen. **DALE BUMPERS** and Gov. **BILL CLINTON,** both from Arkansas. Other potential choices include Ohio Sen. **JOHN GLENN** and U.S. House Majority Leader **THOMAS FOLEY** of the state of Washington.

On the Republican side, George Bush will have the advantage of choosing his running mate in August after learning who is on the Democratic ticket. At that point, he may select someone who can appeal to an ideological or regional constituency. Most observers expect Bush to seek a moderate or a centrist from a region likely to be highly contested, such as the South, the Northeast, or the Mid-West. (It is unlikely that Bush will need to choose a Westerner since the Republican party has lost few states west of the Mississippi in any presidential election since LYNDON JOHNSON'S landslide victory in 1964.) One moderate often mentioned is former Tennessee Gov. LAMAR ALEXANDER. Other potential nominees include several present or former governors from swing states with large blocs of electoral votes: **JAMES THOMPSON,** who has served as governor of Illinois since 1976; **RICHARD THORNBURGH,** former two-term governor of Pennsylvania; **GEORGE DEUKMEJIAN** of California, the state with the most electoral votes; and New Jersey's **THOMAS KEAN,** who enjoys broad support from blacks in his state. If Bush does not choose a governor as running mate he might consider other moderates, such as former Transportation Secretary **ELIZABETH DOLE,** White House Chief of Staff and former Tennessee senator **HOWARD BAKER,** or Energy Secretary **DONALD HODEL.** The choice of any of these moderate officials, however, is not likely to warm the hearts of the ultra-right, and could well lead to dissension at the Republican convention. They might feel more comfortable with New York Rep. **JACK KEMP** or former United Nations ambassador **JEANE KIRKPATRICK,** both conservatives, on the ticket.

Very often, the chief criterion in choosing the second position is finding someone who won't hurt the ticket the way Sen. **ROBERT DOLE** did when he teamed up with **GERALD FORD** in 1976. So while regional and ideological balance remain considerations in the choice of a vice president, Bush or Dukakis must win largely on his own.

And Now the Shouting: The Delegate Selection Process

It should come as no surprise that Jesse Jackson is unhappy about the Democratic party's method of selecting delegates. Jackson's fundamental complaint is that superdelegates make up nearly half of Dukakis's delegate lead. While the gap between the cumulative popular votes of Dukakis and Jackson is 11 points—41 percent to 30 percent—the gap between their respective delegate totals is much larger—25 percentage points (1,643 delegates for Dukakis compared to 974 for Jackson).

Jackson is urging that superdelegate votes be allotted according to the popular vote, either nationwide or by state, or at least that the superdelegates consider the votes of their constituents when they decide whom to support. Any other form of allocation, he suggests, would be unfair. Party officials are listening to Jackson, fearful that a black backlash could result if the nomination process is viewed as having been unfair to him.

Jackson's complaint is not new. At the 1984 Democratic convention, he called for three rules changes in the selection process: (1) eliminating the delegate threshold, (2) eliminating winner-take-all and winner-take-more delegate allocations, and (3) eliminating the party's "superdelegates," a category of unpledged party leaders. To be sure, all of these delegate selection provisions had hurt Jackson in 1984. Although he had won 18 percent of the vote in winner-take-all states, he received only 7 percent of their delegates. And while he had won 21 percent of the vote in winner-take-more states, he received only 14 percent of their delegates. Even in proportional representation states, where Jackson won 17 percent of the popular vote, he was awarded only 11 percent of the delegate total. Jackson was the only major candidate most adversely affected by the 1984 rules, having received overall only 10 percent of the primary-selected delegates for his 19 percent of the popular primary vote.

Disadvantaged in 1984 because his support was concentrated in heavily black precincts and congressional districts, Jackson usually won many more votes in these areas than he needed to capture all the delegates. But in the other congressional districts Jackson fell below the delegate threshold, which was usually 20 percent or higher. Thus his delegate allotment failed to reflect the heavy voter turnout his candidacy generated.

Jackson's protest that year brought mixed results. Only his first demand, lowering the voting-percentage threshold, led to changes. This year, the threshold was reduced to 15 percent. Winner-take-all systems survived, however, Pennsylvania being one example. The category of superdelegates was actually expanded, growing from 14 percent of the convention total in 1984 to 15 percent for 1988. This fall the Democrats will have 644 superdelegates, including 250 members of the House and Senate, 363 members of the Democratic National Committee (DNC), 26 governors who are not members of the DNC, and five senior party figures (former President **JIMMY CARTER,** former Vice President **WALTER MONDALE,** former speakers of the House **THOMAS (TIP) O'NEILL** and **CARL ALBERT,** and former Senate majority leader **MIKE MANSFIELD**).

While most superdelegates have not yet declared their preferences for the nomination, more members of Congress have pledged for Dukakis than for any other candidate. Dukakis is supported by 13 senators and 35 House members, Gore is supported by seven senators and 11 House members, Jackson is supported by 21 House members, and **PAUL SIMON** is supported by two senators and 10 House members. Meanwhile, 23 senators and 137 House members remain uncommitted. Jackson reports that he has 46 of the superdelegates in all, but notes that he has won primaries in more than 40 congressional districts whose representatives are nevertheless backing other candidates. All except two of Jackson's 21 congressional superdelegates (Del. **RON DE LUGO** of the Virgin Islands and Rep. **ROBERT GARCIA** of New York) are members of the Congressional Black Caucus. Three members of the Caucus remain uncommitted: **GEORGE CROCKETT** of Michigan, **MIKE ESPY** of Mississippi, and **ALAN WHEAT** of Missouri. In short, Jackson is far from getting a proportionate share of superdelegates.

Jackson has said it is "premature" to speculate on whether he would consider credential challenges at the July Democratic convention in Atlanta. In the past, such fights have brought little success. And although a battle over the rules could change the process used in the next presidential election, it might well hurt the election chances of the party's nominee this year.

April and May Democratic Primary and Caucus Results

Voting Percentages Received by Democratic Candidates in 1988 Primary and Caucus Elections, April through May

State	Black Voting-Age Population	Date	System	Dukakis	Jackson	Winner's Margin of Victory
Wisconsin	4%	Apr. 5	P	**48%**	28%	20%
Nevada**	6	Apr. 9	C	**32**	25	7
Arizona*	2	Apr. 16	C	**54**	38	16
Delaware*	16	Apr. 18	C	27	**46**	19
New York	15	Apr. 19	P	**51**	37	14
Vermont**	—	Apr. 19	C	45	**46**	1
Utah*	1	Apr. 25	C	**72**	16	56
Pennsylvania	9	Apr. 26	P	**67**	28	39
Ohio	10	May 3	P	**63**	28	35
District of Columbia	65	May 3	P	18	**80**	62
Indiana	8	May 3	P	**70**	22	48
Nebraska	3	May 10	P	**63**	26	37
West Virginia	3	May 10	P	**79**	14	65
Oregon	1	May 17	P	**56**	39	17

* First-round in caucus process

** Second-round in caucus process.

— Less than 1 percent black voting-age population.

Bold indicates winner.

Source: Associated Press.

Across the Nation

ALABAMA: In late March, the U.S. Justice Department joined black plaintiffs in refiling a desegregation suit against the Alabama public university system. The case, *Knight v. the State of Alabama*, was initially filed in 1983. **The plaintiffs and the Justice Department allege that Alabama has deliberately maintained a system of separate colleges and universities for blacks and whites and allocated "far greater resources" to the majority-white schools than to the predominantly black ones. State authorities contend that the predominance of whites and blacks in separate schools results from decades-old patterns of preference by students rather than from discrimination.**

In 1985, U.S. District Court Judge **U. W. CLEMON** ruled in Birmingham that the state maintained vestiges of a dual-school system. But before he could begin the remedy phase of the case, Alabama appealed the ruling to the 11th U.S. Circuit Court of Appeals in Atlanta. Last September, without addressing the issues of segregation, the 11th Circuit Court ruled that, based on the Supreme Court's 1984 *Grove City* decision, the Justice Department could not sue the state under Title VI of the Civil Rights Act of 1964 without identifying how much public money specific programs were receiving (rather than just identifying how much was received by entire institutions). The circuit court also ruled that Clemon, Alabama's first black federal judge, should have recused himself from ruling on the case because as an Alabama state legislator he had backed legislation which benefited predominantly black Alabama universities. **However, since the U.S. Congress overturned the *Grove City* decision this past March, the case can proceed.**

DISTRICT OF COLUMBIA: JOHN DEAN, formerly of the National Coalition on Black Voter Participation, is now serving as executive secretary to the advisory commission in the Office of Voter Participation of the Democratic National Committee (DNC). The Office of Voter Participation was established in late 1987 as an outgrowth of the 1984 Democratic platform's commitment to remove barriers to voter registration. Dean's functions include helping state parties get out the vote for 1988 and developing a national inventory of nonpartisan voting-rights organizations. Dean is also working with the party's National Lawyers Council on voting rights reform and is compiling a book on local voting rights enforcement.

In local politics, D.C. School Board President LINDA CROPP, who is married to a top aide to Mayor MARION BARRY, is preparing to run for the Ward 4 Council seat held by Democrat CHARLENE DREW JARVIS. Both are black. Jarvis was one of three candidates to challenge Mayor Barry for the Democratic nomination for mayor in 1986. The mayor may have more competition in the future. **SHARON PRATT DIXON,** DNC treasurer and Potomac Electric Power Company vice president for consumer affairs, is preparing to run against Barry in 1990.

MISSISSIPPI: By a vote of 56 to 41, the state's Democratic committee voted to keep **ED COLE** in the party chairmanship for a four-year term. Cole is the first black chairman of the Mississippi Democratic Committee. Gov. **RAY MABUS,** who was elected last year with over 90 percent of the black vote, had sought to oust Cole, who had been appointed to the position when the previous chairman retired. Mabus had backed **BILLIE THOMPSON,** a white businesswoman from Tupelo, for the post. Although the fight had racial overtones, blacks themselves were divided on the Cole issue into two groups, with strong Mabus supporters on one side and opponents of Mabus on the other.

NEW YORK: By nearly a 2-to-1 ratio, New York City voters indicated in exit polls during the April 19 primary that they disagreed with Mayor **ED KOCH's** vociferous attacks against Jesse Jackson. Despite Koch's attacks, Jackson swept New York City in the primary. Voters also indicated, by a 3-to-2 ratio, that they don't want Koch to run for mayor again. All this adds up to trouble down the road for Koch in next year's mayoral race. **If the coalition of blacks, Latinos, and progressive whites who supported Jackson comes together again next year, Koch may well end up the ultimate victim of what many observers see as his own brand of "racist politics" that has polarized his city.** The question remains whether the coalition will reemerge in the mayoral race, however. The answer to that question lies primarily with New York's Latinos. Most news reports virtually overlooked the role this group played in last month's primary, but according to the Institute for Puerto Rican Policy, Latinos were the pivotal factor in putting Jackson over the top. The Institute's president, **ANGELO FALCON,** reported that Jackson got 53 percent of the Latino vote (up from 32 percent in 1984), while Dukakis got 40 percent and Gore (the candidate endorsed by Koch) received only 7 percent. Falcon also noted that Latinos in New York gave Jackson the strongest Latino support he has received thus far in the nation. Falcon predicts that if Latinos vote against Koch next year at the same rate that they rejected Gore, a black-Latino coalition might very well combine behind a challenger to defeat Koch in 1989.

PENNSYLVANIA: Early this month, a special grand jury called the conduct of Philadelphia's officials in the fatal 1985 MOVE siege "totally unacceptable" and "morally reprehensible," but returned no criminal indictments in what it called "the city's greatest tragedy." In May 1985, 11 people died and 61 homes were destroyed when police dropped a bomb on a barricaded house occupied by MOVE, a black group which practiced back-to-nature rituals, refused to send their children to school, and disobeyed health and safety laws.

The grand jury report especially castigated Mayor **WILSON GOODE.** "As the city's chief executive officer and the man legally responsible for law enforcement in the city, Goode delegated too much, deferred too often, and asked too few questions," the report said. But the grand jury determined that "Goode's conduct was not reckless under the law," that is, "he did not consciously disregard a substantial and unjustifiable risk that people would be placed in danger of death or serious bodily harm." **A federal grand jury report investigating whether the civil rights of the 11 victims were violated is expected in a few months.**

TEXAS: State Agriculture Commissioner **JIM HIGHTOWER'S** endorsement of Jesse Jackson stands to both help and hurt Hightower, according to the *Texas Observer*. On the negative side, Hightower was pulled into the complex world of ethnic sensitivities within the party by backing Jackson. When he spoke to a group of pro-Israel lobbyists in Los Angeles in mid-March, Hightower got an earful of complaints about his support for Jackson. In response, Hightower argued that his endorsement "puts a strong friend of Israel directly into the heart of the Jackson campaign." **Hightower's endorsement also brought a smattering of racist mail with "words that we haven't been used to seeing in the last 20 years," according to MARY SAWYER, a Hightower aide. Finally, Hightower has had to deal with Democratic supporters who say he has damaged his chances of beating Republican incumbent PHIL GRAMM in the 1990 U.S. Senate race by cutting himself off from Jewish and pro-Israel Political Action Committee money.**

Hightower prefers to look at the positive side. He says the strength of support he has gotten from both the black and the Mexican-American communities has exceeded his expectations. "Blacks are pushing within the Democratic Party and have been for some time, as have Mexican-Americans. [They say] 'we keep getting asked to support you, but you don't support us'... and I made a breakthrough in that. It's the first of a kind," Hightower said. By his calculation, the intensity of support in the minority community will bring a heavier turnout in the Senate election. In his view, "That's going to make the difference."

Black Leaders Gather at the Fifth National Policy Institute to Discuss Critical Policy Issues

by Russell Owens

With the dawn of the 1988 presidential election year came a clear signal from the black community on some of the major issues that must be addressed by candidates seeking black support. These issues included the deterioration and decline of lower-income housing; the rising rates of functional illiteracy and high-school drop-outs among blacks; the rising number of blacks suffering from drug abuse and alcoholism and from severe illnesses, including AIDS (acquired immune deficiency syndrome); the loss of farmland once owned and cultivated by black farmers; and the high rate of joblessness among blacks.

With these concerns in mind, the Joint Center for Political Studies and the seven national organizations of black public officials (see box below for listing) convened the Fifth National Policy Institute (NPI-V) last January in Washington, D.C. Over 500 public officials, scholars, civil rights and public-interest-group leaders, government officials, corporate executives, and labor leaders gathered to develop networks and coalitions, share information on pertinent policy issues, and hear from experts on ways to help shape national policies affecting black Americans. Indeed, with the 1988 presidential and congressional elections on the horizon, participants discussed a policy agenda that they hoped would be considered by the next presidential administration as well as the next Congress.

This report summarizes the extensive speeches and panel discussions that took place at the conference. (The plenary speech by Eleanor Holmes Norton, "On Black Initiative and Governmental Responsibility," was featured in the March 1988 issue of *Focus*.) For a complete conference recap, readers may order audio tapes of the proceedings from Visual Aid Electronics, 2831 15th St., N.W., Washington, D.C. 20009.

POLITICAL WORKSHOPS

The 1988 Elections: Implications for Black America. *Moderator: Linda Faye Williams, Joint Center for Political Studies (JCPS). Panelists: Harvey Gantt, former mayor of Charlotte, N.C.; Sonia Jarvis, National Coalition on Black Voter Participation; Joe Davidson,* Wall Street Journal.

The panelists framed the discussion around the upcoming presidential primaries and the general election. Harvey Gantt, the former mayor of Charlotte, N.C., noted that the next presidential administration will substantially influence how blacks are to fare in the next decade and beyond. He suggested that blacks need to consider two questions: How do we influence the electoral process? And how do we leverage our vote and make the necessary coalitions to ultimately elect a president sensitive to the needs of black America? Blacks, Gantt believes, must consider whether the best approach is to rally around one candidate, and they must utilize the Jackson presidential campaign to help establish a party platform that addresses black concerns.

Other panelists agreed. Joe Davidson further argued that blacks need to institutionalize—rather than personalize—black political power, and that they must hold black elected officials accountable.

Voter Participation/Voter Mobilization. *Moderator: U.S. Rep. Walter Fauntroy (D-D.C.). Panelists: Lani Guinier, NAACP Legal Defense and Education Fund; Sonia Jarvis, National Coalition on Black Voter Participation; Ned McCulloch, ACORN; Frank Parker, Lawyers Committee on Civil Rights Under Law.*

Increased voter registration and mobilization must remain a primary objective for black organizations, according to the panelists, since the number of black voters and black elected officials remains relatively low. The panelists agreed that to achieve political empowerment black voters must mobilize not only in presidential elections but in congressional, state, and local races as well. Sonia Jarvis pointed out that while voter registration is a primary tool for increasing black political power, registration groups continue to have problems raising funds and, in areas with high concentrations of blacks, continue to face restrictive barriers, including at-large elections, run-off elections, gerrymandering, and the annexation of voting districts.

Ned McCulloch advocated a uniform set of national

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Judicial Council of the National Bar Association
National Association of Black County Officials
National Black Caucus of Local Elected Officials
National Black Caucus of State Legislators
National Caucus of Black School Board Members
National Conference of Black Mayors

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registration procedures that would permit voters to register by postcard and on election day. He also suggested that government agencies be required to register voters.

The Census/Reapportionment. *Moderator: Milton Morris, JCPS. Panelists: C. Louis Kincannon, U.S. Bureau of the Census; A. Reginald Eaves, National Association of Black County Officials; David P. Richardson, Jr., National Black Caucus of State Legislators; John H. Smith, National Conference of Black Mayors.*

Panelists expressed concern over the inaccuracy of the decennial census counts of blacks and other minorities. They cited as contributing causes of this inaccuracy the administration's decision not to adjust for the undercount of blacks through statistical formulas, minorities' apathy toward the census as well as their fear that the census data would be used against them to assist law enforcement officers, welfare investigators, or other federal officials. The panelists agreed that black elected officials have a responsibility to correct this misperception among their constituents and that they must encourage census participation to avoid a loss of federal funds and to protect the principle of "one man, one vote."

The Prosecution/Persecution of Black Elected Officials: A Double Standard? *Moderator: Basil Paterson, Meyer, Suozzi, English & Klein. Panelists: Lawrence Jones, Howard University; State Rep. Henry M. (Mickey) Michaux, Jr., N.C.; Herbert O. Reid, legal counsel to the mayor, District of Columbia.*

The panelists agreed that black elected officials continue to be victims of racially motivated harassment and selective prosecution. Dr. Reid pointed out that blacks can best respond to these attacks by learning more about the prosecutorial function and holding the prosecutor's office accountable for its actions.

The panelists added, however, that black officials, like those from any other racial group, should not be exculpated from malfeasance in office.

ECONOMIC POLICY WORKSHOPS

Economic Policy Agenda: Employment Implications. *Moderator: Marcus Alexis, University of Illinois at Chicago Circle. Panelists: Ronald Johnson, Northeastern University; Rhonda Williams, Yale University; Alvin Headen, North Carolina State University.*

All three panelists focused on the way shifting economic policies and ongoing industrial change are affecting and will continue to affect black employment. According to Rhonda Williams, the outlook for black workers is not good since the proportion of workers in the industries that pay high wages is shrinking.

Ronald Johnson noted that the total cost of the displacement of workers through job loss is significant in terms of lost income, loss of work-related benefits, and the psychological effects of job loss on workers and their families. Evidence indicates that black workers who lost jobs suffered more than white workers in terms of their extended unemployment, loss of health benefits, and related factors.

Public/Private Financing of Government Services. *Moderator: John E. Barnes, National Black Caucus of Local Elected Officials. Panelists: Ernest Green, Shearson Lehman Brothers; Pauline A. Schneider, Hunton & Williams; Terrance R. Duvernay, Michigan State Housing Development Authority; Franklin D. Raines, Lazard Freres & Co.*

Local public officials and governments, the panelists explained, are responding to tough financial environments by turning to nontraditional public/private financing arrangements for traditional public functions, such as the construction and maintenance of roads and schools and even police services.

Governments may structure these arrangements to their own advantage, through the use of regulatory power (especially zoning); tax abatements; tax-increment districts; and "in kind" contributions of underutilized land.

Increasing Opportunities for Minority Business. *Moderator: Hilda R. Pemberton, Prince George's County (Md.) Board of Supervisors. Panelists: Anthony W. Robinson, Minority Business Enterprise Legal Defense and Education Fund; Joshua I. Smith, The Maxima Corporation; Fletcher H. Wiley, Massachusetts Governor's Commission on Minority Business.*

Expanding the base of minority businesses, the panelists explained, is important to black economic empowerment, since it can lead to an increase in jobs for black workers and a parallel increase in consumer spending in black communities. The panelists proposed a variety of strategies to increase minority firms' access to the marketplace, including the use of mandated government set-asides. The panelists also expressed concern over the lack of support for black businesses from black consumers and the failure of black entrepreneurs to reach these consumers.

International Trade: Trends, Problems, and Strategies. *Moderator: Irving Williamson, The Port Authority of New York and New Jersey. Panelists: John L. Hilley, U.S. Senate Committee on Budget; Wilfred Marshall, Los Angeles Mayor's Office of Small Business; Donald B. Westmore, Office of the U.S. Trade Representative.*

Although decreasing the trade deficit is vitally important to the nation's economic health, the panelists agreed that the federal government must avoid protectionist measures and habit-forming subsidies. They proposed that government and business leaders look for ways to make businesses more competitive in international markets.

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SOCIAL POLICY WORKSHOPS

Blacks and Higher Education. *Moderator: Samuel Myers, National Association for Equal Opportunity in Higher Education. Panelists: Barbara Jackson, Fordham University; Mary E. Dilworth, American Association for Colleges of Teacher Education; Richard F. Neblett, National Action Council for Minorities in Engineering.*

The panelists expressed their concern over the decrease in the numbers of black students and faculty at both historically black and predominantly white college campuses, and they warned of severe economic consequences for the nation if it fails to provide quality education for blacks and other minority youth, who make up a growing percentage of the nation's work force. For example, while there were 745,000 blacks (10.4 percent of all college students) enrolled in colleges nationally in 1976, by 1985, there were only 734,000 (9.7 percent).

Dr. Neblett said the nation must expose blacks to the academic disciplines needed to maintain a technological edge over our international competitors and called for "a national leadership crusade" to improve math and science education.

Effective Education Strategies: What Works? *Moderator: George Vaughn, National Caucus of Black School Board Members. Panelists: M. Carl Holman, National Urban Coalition; Linda Tsantis, IBM Educational Systems; State Sen. Richard H. Newhouse, Ill.; Gary Orfield, University of Chicago.*

Each of the panelists offered education models or approaches that work, and all were critical of those education policies that they said "ensured failure."

Gary Orfield cited specific government policies as key factors in the poor educational performance of minorities: federal funding cutbacks, cutbacks in college loans and grants, and "resegregation" resulting from policies of the Reagan administration. Other panelists cited additional factors, including the attitudes or the "learned-helpless behavior profile" of many poor and minority students (Linda Tsantis); the "self-imposed isolation" of public schools and school boards from community resources and parental involvement (Richard Newhouse and M. Carl Holman); and the pervasive lack of political will to educate poor and minority children (Newhouse).

Effective Education Strategies. *NPI-V Luncheon Speaker: Floretta Dukes McKenzie, Superintendent of Schools, District of Columbia.*

Dr. McKenzie noted that educational attainment is still the most important means by which blacks can achieve upward mobility. She stressed her belief that a coherent curriculum, orderly environment, and "team spirit" between educators and the community are essential to successful education.

Dr. McKenzie also suggested that government should provide sound education for teen parents, and she cited the D.C. public schools' efforts to reach this group as a good example.

Persistent Urban Poverty: What Is to Be Done? *Moderator: Melvin Primas, mayor, Camden, N.J. Panelists: Debra Arindell, Wider Opportunities for Women; John Garvey, Literacy Assistance Center; James Hyman, Manpower Demonstration Research Corporation (MDRC).*

Job training, the panelists agreed, must be central to any program that would successfully address the needs of the chronically poor. Such programs must also be flexible, providing the specific services participants require. The panel outlined strategies that could help the residents of impoverished inner-city neighborhoods become employed, productive citizens

According to James Hyman, MDRC's research has shown that participation in welfare-to-work programs can be dramatically increased. These programs do not necessarily increase the income for participating welfare clients, however, and therefore should not be seen as a cure for poverty.

The Lower-Income Housing Crisis: Can Solutions Be Found? *Moderator: Alice Shabecoff, Community Information Exchange. Panelists: Lionel Collins, Jr., U.S. Senate Subcommittee on Housing and Urban Affairs; Bernard McDonald, The Ford Foundation; Ghebre Selassie Mehreteab, National Corporation for Housing Partnerships; Yvonne Scruggs-Leftwich, Y.E.L. Corporation.*

This panel discussed current trends and projected needs for more lower-income housing. Panelists agreed that even though the number of poor people is rising, the supply of lower-income housing is declining. This, they noted, is largely due to gentrification, especially the conversion of lower-income residences into middle- and upper-income housing, and to diminished federal subsidies for the poor. The panel also noted that the federal deficit and federal cutbacks are thwarting efforts to assist lower-income tenants on a long-term basis. Government efforts should include providing adequate governmental financing and giving private investors incentives to create affordable housing.

Addressing the Needs of Black Rural America. *Moderator: Brenda Pillors, U.S. House of Representatives. Panelists: Lynette J. Shelton, U.S. Senate; Benny G. Thompson, county supervisor, Hinds County, Miss.*

A major theme of this session was the growing poverty crisis in rural black communities and how public policy rarely addresses rural concerns. For example, the acreage of farmland owned by blacks in the United States has declined dramatically: in 1984, U.S. census data revealed that blacks were losing 1,000 acres of farmland a day. The panelists argued that government assistance has been markedly biased against minorities and has added to this loss of farmland. For example, between 1980 and 1983, Farmers Home Administration's (FmHA's) loans to black farmers declined by 73 percent, whereas loans to white farmers dropped by only 18 percent.

The poverty crisis in rural areas has been largely caused by dependence on the declining farming and textile-manufacturing sectors. It has been exacerbated by cuts in government assistance and by a general lack of basic resources such as transportation, health care, and housing.

Black Philanthropy: The Legacy Continues. *Moderator: Roslyn Smith, Westinghouse Electric Corporation. Panelists: Emmett D. Carson, JCPS; Joseph P. McCormick II, Howard University.*

The panel discussed a variety of philanthropic activities, primarily among blacks, including the volunteering of time and the donation of goods and services to causes and needy individuals. Panelists also discussed philanthropic organizations that respond to the needs of the black community.

Dr. Carson pointed out that there is a tradition of giving and volunteering in the black community. In 1986, for example, 61 percent of all blacks contributed money to charitable organizations, 17 percent of them contributing $500 or more. Nearly 70 percent of all blacks, he noted, give money, food, or clothing, or volunteer to perform some service for the homeless or others in need.

The Role of the Church in Black Community Life. *Moderator: Rev. John Bryant, Bethel AME Church, Baltimore, Md.; Grainger Browning, Jr., Ebenezer AME Church, Ft. Washington, Md.; Charles Stith, Organization for a New Equality, Boston, Mass.; McKinley Young, Big Bethel AME Church, Atlanta, Ga.*

The panelists noted that black churches must actively seek the economic and social empowerment of lower-income blacks. They agreed that in ministering to the black middle class, the black church must not allow those who are more affluent to forget the rest of the black community. The black church, they believe, should promote an inclusive society, propose new ideas, identify the nature and source of problems facing blacks, and encourage people to share talents and resources.

The Changing Nature of the Black Family. *Moderator: Gloria Primm Brown, Carnegie Corporation of New York. Panelists: Walter R. Allen, University of Michigan; Bart Landry, University of Maryland; James B. Stewart, Pennsylvania State University.*

The panel cited several recent trends among black families, including the increase since 1970 in black female-headed households (over half of all black children currently live in such families). This change in family structure is a cause of poverty among black women and children. Today, sixty-seven percent of black female-headed households are in poverty. James Stewart suggested that the problems facing the black family can be addressed in part by creating more jobs, by developing more support systems (such as a national youth service), by getting successful black males to act as community role models, and through federal tax deductions for childcare provided by relatives.

Health Issues in the Black Community. *Moderator: Gary King, Westat, Inc. Panelists: June Jackson Christmas, international consultant; Frederick W. McKinney, University of Connecticut; Reed Tuckson, District of Columbia Department of Human Services.*

Excessively high mortality rates (over twice those of whites) and morbidity rates (50 percent greater than for whites) characterize the black community and reflect the disparity between the living standards of blacks and whites. The panelists explained that because of lower income levels and lower educational attainment, as compared with whites, blacks generally take fewer preventive-health measures, get sick more often, experience more serious illnesses, have less access to health practitioners and institutions, and have fewer resources to pay for medical care. It is estimated that only about 25 percent of blacks have private health coverage and almost 50 percent participate in government insurance programs, while 25 percent are totally dependent upon the charitable services of municipal and voluntary hospitals.

Compounding the problem is the virtual rationing of health care since 1980. Many programs that benefitted blacks and poor people have been reduced or eliminated, forcing the poor to choose between purchasing everyday necessities and paying for medical care.

The panelists argued that our society fails to understand that comprehensive health care should be a *right* guaranteed by the federal government. They noted that until all Americans have guaranteed access to decent health care, inequity will remain a serious problem for blacks.

Substance Abuse: Public Policy Implications. *Moderator: Sondra Nelson, National Association of State Alcohol and Drug Abuse Directors. Panelists: Elaine Johnson, National Institute on Drug Abuse; Ronald A. LeGrand, U.S. Senate Judiciary Committee; Cecilia Douthy Willis, Nebraska State Division on Alcoholism and Drug Abuse.*

The health problems caused by drug abuse, like those stemming from any other epidemic, require comprehensive, well-financed programs aimed at prevention and treatment along with efforts to remove the source of the "infection"—in this case the drug supply. The consensus of this panel was that the federal government is not truly committed to ending the drug abuse epidemic. This panel urged communities and government to act jointly to eradicate drug abuse. Panelists called for vigilance in the black community, increased federal funding for drug treatment, a full range of supportive services for addicts and ex-addicts, strong governmental interdiction efforts, increased education efforts aimed at prevention, and strong law enforcement to punish suppliers.

AIDS and the Black Community. *Moderator: Gil Gerald, National AIDS Network. Panelists: Mychelle Farmer, University of Maryland; Evelyn G. Lowery, Southern Christian Leadership Conference—W.O.M.-E.N.; Mark Jeffrey Wade, Spofford Youth Services.*

The panelists noted that the black community has had difficulty combatting the growing AIDS epidemic in part because community-based organizations, which are most effective in mounting educational campaigns among minorities, often cannot obtain needed funds. Additionally, campaigns targeted at blacks too often emphasize race identity rather than behavioral factors; this fails because many blacks do not consider themselves at risk. They do not view the threat in terms of race and often fail to take needed preventive action.

Gil Gerald observed that although the country is now in its seventh year of the AIDS crisis, the black community has just begun to recognize AIDS as a significant issue facing minorities.

Panelists agreed that the major tasks for the black community are prevention and the development of long-term plans for the care of those afflicted.

Teenage Pregnancy Prevention. *Moderator: Jean Patterson Boone, Children's Defense Fund. Panelists: Denise E. Ingram, Indiana State Board of Health; Robert L. Johnson, New Jersey Medical School; Sharon R. Lovick, Support Center for School Based Clinics.*

The panelists suggested that the major focus of public policy should be on prevention of teen pregnancy through effective counseling and health care. Jean Boone pointed out that in 1984, 11 percent of all teenage girls became pregnant and only half of them obtained prenatal care. From 1980 to 1985, the United States had the highest infant mortality rate of the 20 Western industrialized countries—primarily because of the paucity of prenatal care. According to the panelists, what is even more devastating for blacks is the lack of pregnancy prevention and education services. Sharon Lovick pointed out, for example, that there are only 123 school-based clinics in the nation's secondary schools, serving only about 200,000 teens.

The Plight of the Black Elderly. *Moderator: Samuel J. Simmons, The National Caucus and Center on Black Aged. Panelists: Ronald F. Pollack, Villers Foundation; Stephen R. McConnell, American Association of Retired Persons; State Rep. Aaron Henry, Mississippi.*

The panelists, all of whom are advocates for the aged, spoke forcefully on the plight of the black elderly. Income security for many of the nation's elderly, they noted, is precarious at best. While the economic status of the aged has improved over the last 30 years, the panelists stressed that substantial numbers of black seniors continue to live in poverty. Panelists noted that nearly 7 out of 10 black seniors (69 percent) were either poor or living on the edge of poverty in 1986. This compares to 10.7 percent of whites in the same age group.

The panelists argued that comprehensive, long-term social and medical insurance is the best way to care for the elderly. They underscored the need to mobilize the black community, including churches and fraternal organizations, to push officials into action on behalf of the elderly.

Attacking Crime in the Black Community. *Moderator: Joyce London Alexander, Judicial Council of the National Bar Association. Panelists: Lee P. Brown, chief of police, Houston, Tex.; William G. Lewis, Long Island University; Elsie L. Scott, National Organization of Black Law Enforcement Executives; Alexander Williams, state's attorney, Prince George's County, Md.*

This panel addressed two crucial issues: how ordinary citizens can be enlisted in the fight against crime, and how communities can balance their desire to prevent crime with their need to protect personal and civil liberties. The panelists agreed that criminal behavior of any kind must be a primary concern of blacks and that solutions will require more than increased law enforcement.

Alexander Williams suggested that community residents must be willing to identify law-breakers, participate in group and neighborhood efforts to reduce crime, and support legislation to eliminate the distribution of illegal drugs.

William Lewis pointed out that in reducing crime, the personnel of law enforcement agencies must reflect the ethnic diversity of their own communities to build trust and respect between the agencies and the people they serve.

The panelists agreed that the larger social and economic factors—unemployment, substance abuse, poverty, and the lack of support systems—must be addressed if crime is to be controlled.

Women's Caucus Breakfast (Special Event). *Moderator: Hannah Atkins, State of Oklahoma. Panelists: State Rep. Mable Thomas, Georgia; Anita Arnold, Argos Properties, Inc.; Floretta Dukes McKenzie, Superintendent of Schools, District of Columbia; Alexis Herman, A.M. Herman & Associates, Inc.*

The panel was composed of women who exemplify excellence and professional success. Rep. Thomas stressed the need for black women to be politically active. Businesswoman Anita Arnold advised women to make use of contacts in identifying opportunities and in promoting one's business, and to use resources available to minorities. Dr. Floretta McKenzie stressed the need for more blacks to see teaching as a valuable profession. And Alexis Herman urged women to be firmly committed to their own principles. ■

The Changing Black Family

(Continued from page 6)

hypothesis is that there are more women than men in the age group where marriage would usually take place (20 to 29 years). While Farley and economist Robert Lerman of Brandeis University tended to discount this male/female imbalance in the marriage pool, other participants, including Testa, argued forcefully that the imbalance is significant, particularly in certain communities. In discussing a study headed by fellow University of Chicago sociologist William J. Wilson, Testa said the data showed serious imbalances in the male/female ratio in the inner city of Chicago. Testa said, "we start wondering, where are the black males?" He pointed to high rates of incarceration and mortality (primarily from homicide) and the greater tendency of black males to enter the military as explanations for the low male/female ratio.

> ***The absence of another adult in the household with whom the child can interact seems to be a determinant of the low achievement levels and antisocial behavior of many children.***

Economic factors were also cited by many participants as significantly influencing delayed marriage and higher marital dissolution. Walter Allen, a sociologist from the University of Michigan, viewed the deteriorating economic conditions of black males as a factor in the decline in marriage among blacks. He said the decline in the rates of black employment, especially the loss of manufacturing jobs, was key to the changes in black family structure. Bowman, a social psychologist, said his studies of marital stress show a relationship between loss of employment by the husband and marital instability. Lerman, however, noted that rates of marriage declined even during periods of economic expansion; he feels that changes in marital stability are related to more than economics.

Future Study of Black Families

It seems clear that the decline in marriage and the changes in family structure among blacks will not be reversed in the near future. Therefore, it is important that new household arrangements and their impact on children be examined more carefully. The Joint Center, as part of its continuing study of these issues, will publish its first volume on the status of black children this fall. Obtaining a more accurate picture of the conditions under which black children live will aid in developing ways to improve the well-being of these children. ■

Desegregation of the Military

(Continued from page 4)

full desegregation. This does not mean that all barriers fell quickly: the Marine Corps, for example, resisted abandoning its tradition of racial exclusion thoughout the 1950s.

But Truman's order and the Fahy committee's recommendations had, in effect, forced the military to do what it previously had been reluctant to do: serve as an engine of social change and racial justice. ■

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Welfare: Dependency vs. Reform

At a JCPS Round Table, Welfare Administrators, Legislators, and Scholars Examine the Impact of Pending Legislation on Long-Term Welfare Recipients

The Forgotten Poor: Blacks in Rural Areas

Poor Blacks in Rural America Live Under Harsh Social and Economic Conditions and Have Access to Few Public Services

Blacks and the 1988 Democratic National Convention

New JCPS Publication Documents Historic Participation in This Year's Convention and Shows That Heavy Turnout Could Decide the Presidential Election

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Black Democrats' Expanding Participation in 1988

The Democratic National Convention was a dramatic success on a number of fronts. It was a made-for-TV spectacular; it provided a picture of a unified party; and it showcased its nominee, Massachusetts Governor Michael Dukakis, in a most flattering limelight. But this convention, held in Atlanta's sweltering heat, also showcased the power of the black electorate.

Regardless of the outcome of the presidential election in November, the black electorate, often personified by Jesse Louis Jackson, was a key force in American politics from January to July and especially in the Democratic convention. It promises to be an even greater factor in the election of the next president.

Most observers will recall Jackson's commanding presence throughout much of the convention and the seemingly unending stream of black speakers to the podium. But the black electorate was represented in some other ways. There were 962 black delegates, making up 23.1 percent of all convention delegates. Nearly a third of the members of the credentials, rules, and platform committees were black, and black elected officials played major leadership roles in these committees. Black leadership and participation in the Democratic National Committee itself also has grown.

Black Democrats have every right to feel proud of their achievements in party politics this year. They also have every reason to be concerned that their participation not be taken for granted.

The 1988 presidential election matters deeply to blacks, and their votes are destined to figure prominently in the electoral arithmetic of both parties. This is true for several reasons. One is that blacks are now a larger proportion of the total electorate than at any previous time, making up 11.2 percent (compared to 10.8 percent in 1984). Another reason is that black registration and turnout have increased substantially in recent years, even as white voting levels have declined. Still another reason is that the presidential election is likely to be very close, with significant shifts in party loyalty at the polls likely among many other segments of the electorate.

A major question facing the Democratic party in this general election is whether it can retain the support of the large, growing, and increasingly active black electorate, especially at a time when it also must reach out to white conservative Southerners. Although blacks generally remain supportive of the Democratic party, surveys by the Joint Center for Political Studies show a softening of that support over the last few years. A significantly smaller proportion of the black voting population identifies itself as "strong Democrats" today than did so only two years ago.

Other factors in this election may also serve to soften black Democratic support: there are few explicitly racial issues to galvanize blacks as party voters, the Democratic party's nominee lacks strong ties to the black community, and the Republican nominee engenders considerably less fear and hostility among blacks than has President Ronald Reagan.

We'll know more about how all the various partisan strategies and scenarios unfold when the presidential campaign gets underway. Now is the time for black Democrats to bask in the sunshine of their influence in the primaries and in the national convention. Come September, their race for victory and influence begins all over again. ■

Eddie N. Williams

PRESIDENT

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Welfare: Dependency vs. Reform

At a JCPS Round Table, Welfare Administrators, Legislators, and Scholars Examine the Impact of Pending Legislation on Long-Term Welfare Recipients

by Katherine McFate

In 1969, Daniel Patrick Moynihan, then a senior White House aide in a Republican administration, was the principal author of a major welfare reform proposal that would have provided a guaranteed annual income to each family receiving public assistance. The measure passed the House of Representatives but never got through the Senate Finance Committee. Now, nearly two decades later, Moynihan has authored a dramatically different reform measure, this time as a Democratic senator. Instead of increasing the benefits of welfare recipients, Moynihan's Family Security Act of 1988 (S.1511) would require most adult recipients of the Aid to Families with Dependent Children (AFDC) program to work in exchange for benefits. The Moynihan bill and a more generous House bill, the Family Welfare Reform Act (H.R. 1720), are now pending in a congressional conference committee (see *Focus*, September 1987, "Welfare Reform Bill Calls for New Direction").

Reform of the AFDC program has been spurred by two factors: the growth of what some describe as the long-term dependent underclass and a shift in public attitudes about welfare recipients. Over the years, the number of the nonelderly poor who are dependent on public assistance has more than tripled, rising from 1 million families in 1965 to about 3.7 million today. And researchers now estimate that over half the families receiving AFDC in any given month are long-term recipients. This means about 2.2 million American families remain on AFDC rolls for 10 years or more. Two-thirds of these Americans are children.

The shift in attitudes about welfare beneficiaries is related to the increased labor-force participation of women. As more and more mothers entered the labor force in the 1970s and 1980s to supplement family incomes, the public grew less sympathetic toward mothers who received welfare benefits but were not required to work. Today, 60 percent of all mothers are in the labor force, but fewer than one in six AFDC mothers work. The AFDC system is, in the eyes of conservative critics, an active agent in the growth of the underclass. Even as viewed by moderate and liberal members of Congress, AFDC has been a passive bystander in a growing problem.

Thus, concerns over the growth of a welfare dependent underclass and changing norms regarding working mothers have laid the foundation for reform of the AFDC program. On April 13, 1988, as Congress considered the welfare reform bills, the Joint Center for Political Studies invited over 50 national researchers and policy makers to a day-long round table to discuss two topics of direct relevance to reform legislation: recent research relating to potential long-term AFDC recipients and existing models of welfare-to-work programs which are underway in several states. The congressional legislation would provide funds for the establishment of similar programs in all states.

Long-term Welfare Dependency: Questions Remain

Research on the use of public assistance over the last few years has tended to confirm the popular image of long-term AFDC recipients as disproportionately nonwhite, unmarried mothers, many of whom bore children as teenagers. This has led many observers to assume that early out-of-wedlock child-bearing necessarily results in long-term dependency and is responsible for low educational attainment among AFDC recipients. Research discussed during the round table raised questions about the validity of this assumption.

For example, Gina Adams, senior program specialist at the Children's Defense Fund, presented findings from a Congressional Budget Office (CBO) study that refutes the perception that all teen mothers immediately go on welfare and remain there. On the contrary, she noted, there is a great deal of movement on and off AFDC among teen mothers. According to the CBO study, which examined data from a national sample of young women, a majority of unmarried teen mothers with young children managed to get off the welfare rolls for some time during a four-year period. Black teen mothers, however, were more likely to use AFDC for longer periods than white teen mothers, primarily because fewer black teens were married when they gave birth. While there is a higher incidence of white mothers "marrying off welfare," white unmarried teen

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mothers remain on AFDC as long as black unmarried teen mothers.

For most women, the key to getting off welfare is marriage. As Martha Burt, senior research associate at The Urban Institute, asserted, "If you are married and have another worker in the household, a mother can afford to take a low-wage job and the household will [still] be better off than depending on AFDC."

Another common misconception about long-term AFDC recipients is that there is a "lock-step" relationship between a mother's AFDC use and her daughter's use of welfare. Researchers at the University of Michigan have shown that almost two-thirds of the daughters of women who use AFDC do not go on welfare themselves. Nonetheless, although the probability that daughters of AFDC recipients will use AFDC is relatively small, it is twice that of daughters of poor, non-AFDC recipient mothers. Peter Gottschalk, professor of economics at Boston College, cautioned that these research findings are based on short time frames in the course of a daughter's experience and may not reflect the real correlation between mothers' and daughters' use of welfare over long periods.

The Cost of Reform: Lessons From State Programs

Under the Omnibus Budget Reconciliation Act of 1981, states were allowed greater flexibility (and some new money) to redesign the Work Incentive (WIN) program, the current employment and training component of AFDC. According to an evaluation of 11 state WIN programs conducted by the Manpower Demonstration Research Corporation (MDRC), a New York based, nonprofit research organization, most states have only been able to afford employment services like job search, job placement assistance, and unpaid Community Work Experience (CWEP) or "workfare." These employment and training programs have been most successful at placing into jobs welfare beneficiaries who have some work experience and education.

But according to Judith Gueron, president of MDRC, such low-cost programs generally do not improve employment rates and earnings among the most disadvantaged AFDC recipients, who have no work history, few skills, and a poor education. What usually does work are comprehensive programs that provide a broader range of services, including individual assessments of the clients' skill levels and subsequent matching of employment and training services to suit their needs, day care assistance for the mothers of young children, medical coverage, and transportation vouchers. The fact that only a few states can afford such a comprehensive program has significant implications for the long-term AFDC recipients who are targeted by the new legislation.

Three State Models

The second portion of the JCPS round table was devoted to looking at the experience of three state welfare-to-work programs as models for implementing the provisions of the reform legislation. These states, Massachusetts, California, and New Jersey, with their expanding economies, have more revenues to commit to welfare programs than most other states.

The Massachusetts Employment and Training Choices (ET) program is the only welfare-to-work program in the country where participation among AFDC recipients is completely voluntary. Since the program began in 1983, it has placed 45,000 welfare recipients into full- or part-time jobs and it is in operation across the entire state. ET emphasizes training programs that upgrade skills so recipients can earn more than a poverty-level income. But the cost of success is high; the state spends an average of $6,300 in placing each participant.

Although the California legislature implemented the Greater Avenues for Independence (GAIN) program in 1985, only 26 of California's 58 counties have operational GAIN programs today. Limited by budget constraints, GAIN is not operating in the major metro areas of Los Angeles, Oakland, and San Francisco. Even with its limited geographic coverage, GAIN administrators quickly found they had severely underestimated the number of recipients requiring remedial education. The Department of Social Services found that 57 percent of new AFDC applicants and over two-thirds of continuing AFDC cases required education services. Between 1986 and 1988, the estimated cost of educational services rose from $16 million to $152 million. As a result, only 18 counties will receive full funding in FY 1989.

New Jersey's Realizing Economic Achievement (REACH) program only began in October 1987 and it will not be fully operational until the end of 1989. However, REACH has two expensive innovations worth watching. First, only women with children under two years old are exempt, which will increase the program's child care costs. Second, REACH gives 12 months of transitional medical coverage to the families of newly employed, former AFDC recipients. Both innovations contribute to a total cost per participant of $5,600 per year.

The experiences of these models demonstrate the high costs incurred by state programs that have achieved some success at moving long-term AFDC recipients off of welfare rolls and onto payrolls. The costs of these programs are $408 million for California, $90 million for Massachusetts, and $38 million for New Jersey.

Can We Pay for Reform?

The bills under consideration in the House/Senate conference committee both mandate that states provide a range of services, but there is pressure to hold funding down to the Senate proposal of $2.8 billion over five years instead of the more generous $7.1 billion level of funding called for in the House version. In addition, the legislation's cap on federal matching grants will severely curtail most states' ability to afford pro-

(Continued on back page)

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POLITICAL TRENDLETTER®

Inside This Issue

- **Some black Democrats feel they were short-changed at their national convention.**
- **Politicians and business leaders lash out at Japanese racism.**
- **More women of color are vying for congressional seats this year.**
- **Across the Nation: Federal judge Alcee L. Hastings is impeached; Donald Payne is about to become New Jersey's first black congressman; Maurice A. Dawkins' campaign for the Senate hits snags.**

Black Discontent at the 1988 Democratic Convention

Behind the sometimes spell-binding and generally well-received speeches of Democratic leaders such as Texas Treasurer ANN RICHARDS, Massachusetts Sen. EDWARD KENNEDY, Texas Agriculture Commissioner JIM HIGHTOWER, JESSE LOUIS JACKSON, and presidential nominee MICHAEL DUKAKIS—behind the endless receptions and parties and behind the show of unity as the convention ended—a question was voiced repeatedly by black delegates, alternates, and spectators: what did Jesse Jackson and black America get at the Democratic convention of '88?

Few specifics were released about the so-called "deal" between Jackson and Dukakis, leading to speculation that there was not much of a deal to begin with and that blacks will benefit little from what there was. Indeed, this convention has been dubbed the "trust me" convention by some who believe all Dukakis told Jackson was "just trust me" and that all Jackson told his delegates in turn was "just trust me." **On the other hand, some pundits reported that what Jackson and black Americans did get was a commitment for their greater participation in the party, to wit: (1) the creation of a new vice-chair of the Democratic National Committee (DNC), a post to which New Orleans Mayor SIDNEY BARTHELEMY, a Jackson supporter, will be appointed; (2) 15 additional black members of the DNC, including Jackson's son Jesse Jackson, Jr., but not former Gary Mayor Richard Hatcher, a long-time Jackson supporter; (3) support for the election of more state party chairs, vice-chairs, and other officers; (4) the integration of key Jackson staffers into the Dukakis-Bentsen campaign; (5) a commitment to provide Jackson with the funds, staff, and other resources to conduct a massive voter registration program and to campaign for the Dukakis-Bentsen ticket; and (6) a commitment to include Jackson and his supporters in the policy-making process of the Dukakis administration if the Democrats are successful in November.**

Was this enough? Some said no. Others said, "sure, we wanted more, but the gains were real." For example, former Atlanta Mayor **MAYNARD JACKSON,** describing himself as an incrementalist, concluded that he would rather take some progress than no progress, and that blacks did in fact secure some gains. And Mississippi State Party Chair **ED COLE** concluded that the additions to the DNC and the commitment to seek more party officers were important accomplishments. According to Cole, U.S. Rep. **MIKE ESPY** (D-Miss.) would not be sitting in Congress today had blacks not been among the officers of the state party to ensure a fair election and ballot count. DNC Treasurer **SHARON PRATT DIXON** added that the agreement to include more blacks in the DNC would have a major impact on party procedures and personnel over the next four years.

Still, there is no getting around some harsh realities. Outside of the Texas delegation, most blacks appeared displeased by the choice of conservative Texas Sen. **LLOYD BENTSEN** as the vice presidential nominee. And there were few visible and immediate gains for blacks at the convention. This, however, should come as no surprise because conventions have more and more become media events—with the real deals usually made before the convention begins.

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In this context, a number of victories must be added to Jackson's tally. Before the convention, Jackson forces had already won greater "democratization" of the Democratic rules. Jackson finally secured a reduction in the number of superdelegates and the elimination of winner-take-all and winner-take-more systems for the next Democratic nomination contest. These changes, which he had fought for and lost in 1984, will make it easier in the future for a candidate who is not backed by the Democratic leadership to become the party's nominee. Jackson also won concessions on platform issues before the convention, including the declaration of South Africa as a "terrorist state" and the tougher sanctions that such a declaration implies. Also in the Democratic platform are same-day voter registration; affirmative action with goals and timetables; and statehood for the District of Columbia—issues that some traditional Democrats would rather ignore. Other Jackson priorities, to be sure, were defeated: his minority planks on higher taxes for the wealthy, no-first-use of nuclear weapons, and support for Palestinian rights were all rejected on the convention floor.

All in all, the convention drove home the fact that harsh realities remain in the realm of black politics. Although it is almost inconceivable that the Democrats can win without the black vote in 1988 (since they have not won a majority of the white vote since 1964), the Democrats must still win a substantial minority of the white vote (at least 40 to 45 percent) to have any chance of victory in November. For this reason, Dukakis bargained with Jackson with the white vote in mind. Furthermore, the greater the threat becomes that blacks might sit out the election or vote for an independent candidate (or even for the Republican nominee, **GEORGE BUSH**), the more important the white vote becomes to Dukakis.

In short, despite some progress and despite their impressive involvement at the convention in Atlanta, blacks still remain in a box: neither major party offers them a satisfactory alternative. To become a stronger force in American politics, blacks must find a way to get out of this predicament. They must figure out how to be better organized for the next presidential race, and how to win over enough coalition partners among Hispanics, Asians, Native Americans, and progressive whites. What is clear in 1988 is that blacks are no longer satisfied with being junior partners—not even in a winning Democratic coalition.

Japanese Racial Insensitivity—Again

The Congressional Black Caucus (CBC) and black business leaders recently issued a strong protest against racial slurs by Japanese government officials and manufacturers. At a Capitol Hill news conference, Rep. **MERVYN DYMALLY** (D-Calif.), chairman of the CBC, expressed outrage at the racial insensitivity of some of Japan's top leaders. Dymally also sent a letter to Japanese Prime Minister **NOBORU TAKESHITA,** on behalf of the Caucus, conveying their "distress...at the reemergence of racially derogatory comments and practices in your country."

The protests were in response to two recent incidents. The first was a public statement from the chief of Japan's ruling Liberal-Democratic Party, MICHIO WATANABE, who said that a lot of blacks do not mind going bankrupt because they take the position that "now we don't have to pay anything back." Watanabe is a former cabinet minister who held portfolios for finance and trade. The second incident involved "Little Black Sambo" caricatures produced by the Sanrio Co. and displays of mannequins characterizing blacks as having grotesquely large lips at Tokyo's Sogo department store. The mannequins were manufactured by the Yamato Mannequin Co.

These episodes echo statements made in 1986 by then-Japanese Prime Minister **YASUHIRO NAKASONE,** who said that blacks and Hispanics brought down the intelligence level of Americans. That statement prompted demonstrations in front of the Japanese embassy in Washington, D.C., threats of official congressional condemnation, and talk of boycotts against Japanese consumer goods sold in the United States. Nakasone subsequently apologized. Meanwhile, delegations of black political figures, including Dymally, Jesse Jackson, Atlanta Mayor **ANDREW YOUNG,** and a number of black business leaders held meetings with Japanese corporate executives and government officials to establish commercial links and foster better understanding between American minorities and the Japanese.

Talks centered around opportunities for blacks to secure Japanese auto dealerships, distributorships of Japanese consumer electronic goods, and subcontracts for black-owned high-tech computer and manufacturing firms. Although blacks consume about 10 percent of Japanese VCRs, TVs, and audio equipment and own 12 percent of all Japanese cars in the United States, they have been locked out of Japanese business ventures, and recent discussions have provided few keys to business opportunities. Meanwhile, the Black Sambos and the Watanabe statement have opened old wounds and damaged prospects for constructive relationships. The chances of reaching an understanding seem remote. "Our efforts at negotiation have been most frustrating," says Dymally, whose district is about one-third Japanese-American. "We even blocked an earlier attempt to organize a boycott of Japanese products so that we could hold talks in a conciliatory, non-confrontational atmosphere, but we still have received no response from the Japanese."

Congressman **WALTER FAUNTROY** (D-D.C.) noted that "These incidents have added insult to injury. Black auto and steel workers have been injured by the loss of jobs to Japanese industries and now they've been insulted." He added that many blacks have been denied employment opportunities in Japanese plants located in America, which have been placed primarily in suburbs and small, predominantly white communities.

The concerns of the legislators were not limited to American blacks. As U.S. firms are withdrawing from South Africa, Japanese companies are rushing in to take their places. Japanese trade with South Africa has increased steadily in recent years. Fauntroy urged the Japanese to join the U.S. and other nations in imposing sanctions against the Apartheid regime and to deny the country robotics and other automation equipment.

Blacks have not been alone in their outrage. They were joined by California Democratic Congressmen **ROBERT T. MATSUI** and **NORMAN MINETA,** both of Japanese descent. "This is not fitting behavior for a great power and it has to stop," said Matsui. Mineta, who at age 11 was interned in a U.S. concentration camp for Americans of Japanese ancestry during World War II, said "the displays of Black Sambo and mannequins by the Japanese are racist and unacceptable. . . and my reaction to these displays is anger." He expressed dismay that the Japanese didn't seem to be willing to learn from their mistakes.

Rep. CHARLES RANGEL (D-N.Y.) voiced further disappointment: "We wanted to be conciliatory, to do it the 'Japanese way,' but we got no results. We don't want to be the vehicle for the rise of an anti-Japanese sentiment based on racism and the trade imbalance that could get out of control." This is also the concern of Black Business Council President **ALBERT NELLUM,** a Washington businessman, who said that if the Japanese do not respond to the non-confrontational approach, his organization and the CBC might be urged by some groups to pursue direct action, including a boycott of Japanese products. The council, which is chaired by **EARL G. GRAVES**, publisher of *Black Enterprise* magazine, was formed two years ago and comprises some of the nation's largest black-owned businesses. Graves and National Urban League President **JOHN JACOB** issued a parallel statement of protest at the league convention in Detroit, Michigan.

Women of Color Compete for Congressional Seats

According to the Center for the American Woman and Politics (CAWP), a growing number of women of color are contenders in this year's congressional races. At least 10 are vying for seats in the U.S. House of Representatives: five blacks, two Hispanics, two Asian-Pacific Americans, and one Native American.

The Democratic candidates include incumbent Rep. **CARDISS COLLINS** (D-Ill.); **FAYE WILLIAMS,** an attorney seeking a rematch against Republican incumbent **CLYDE HOLLOWAY** in Louisiana's 8th Congressional District; and **DOLORES SANDOVAL,** a University of Vermont professor who is seeking that state's open at-large House seat. In Wisconsin, Republican businesswoman **HELEN BARNHILL** and former Democratic Secretary of State **VEL PHILLIPS** are vying for that state's 5th Congressional District seat in Milwaukee.

CAWP reports that while 124 women have served in Congress, only 7 have been women of color—all of them members of the House. A total of 5 black women have served in Congress, all since 1968, when **SHIRLEY CHISHOLM** was first elected in Brooklyn. The others were **YVONNE BRATHWAITE BURKE** (D-Calif.), **BARBARA JORDAN** (D-Tex.), **KATIE HALL** (D-Ind.), and Rep. Collins.

At other political levels, the number of black female elected officials is also relatively small. JCPS research shows that black women hold only 95 seats in state legislatures (1.3 percent of all seats in state legislatures), and they represent 8.1 percent of all women legislators. Sixty-five black women hold positions on county governing bodies (10.2 percent of the 640 county seats held by black officials); 48, or 15.8 percent, of the 303 black mayors are women (just 3 black women are mayors of cities with populations over 100,000); and black women hold 509, or 20.5 percent, of the 2,843 municipal council seats held by blacks.

Yet, black women vote at a higher rate than do black men (45 percent of black voting-age women went to the polls in 1986 compared with 42 percent of black voting-age men) and are only slightly behind white women (at 47 percent) in their rate of voter registration and turnout. Clearly, black women are not getting their due in the political arena.

Across the Nation

ARKANSAS: **LOTTIE SHACKELFORD,** mayor of Little Rock since 1986, has indicated that she is undecided on whether she will seek reelection this November. But if Shackelford, a city director since 1978, should decide to run, tough opposition awaits her from two whites who have already announced that they are candidates for the post. They are assistant mayor and fellow city director **FLOYD G. "BUDDY" VILLINES** and former city director **JIM DAILEY**, who has a commercial real estate business (city directors in Little Rock are like city councilmembers in some other municipalities).

As Shackelford considers the pros and cons of seeking a second term as mayor, she must weigh her chances of waging a successful campaign in a totally new system for electing the mayor and city directors. In previous elections, mayors were chosen by the seven-member board of city directors. Shackelford was elected to her two-year term through this method.

Under the new system, the mayor, who also serves as a city director, will be elected directly by the voters at-large to a four-year term. Two other directors will also be elected at-large. In addition, Little Rock has been divided into four wards. The voters of each ward will elect a director to represent them. If Shackelford doesn't campaign for mayor under these changed election rules, sources says she may run for director from the predominantly black first ward. In the future, Shackelford, the cochairperson of the Credentials Committee at this year's Democratic convention, may extend her political career even further beyond the bounds of Little Rock—she has suggested that she may run for secretary of state for Arkansas in 1990.

FLORIDA: The U.S. House of Representatives recently voted 413 to 3 to impeach U.S. district judge **ALCEE L. HASTINGS,** the first black federal judge to be appointed in Florida. The House agreed to the 17 articles of impeachment recommended by the Judiciary Committee. The Subcommittee on Criminal Justice submitted the initial recommendation for impeachment on July 7. Before proceeding, black Congressman **JOHN CONYERS** (D-Mich.), who chairs the subcommittee and who voted for impeachment, said in a press interview, "We did not wage the civil rights struggle to replace one form of judicial corruption with another."

In an earlier trial that began in 1981, Hastings was charged with bribery-conspiracy. He was also a codefendant with WILLIAM A. BORDERS, JR., in charges of influencing, obstructing, and impeding justice. Borders was convicted of these charges in 1982, but Hastings was acquitted the following year. After Hastings' trial, an investigation by a special panel of the 11th Circuit Court of Appeals concluded that there was "clear and convincing evidence" that he was guilty of conspiracy and perjury. Hastings has denied partaking in any improper action.

The next step in the impeachment process is a trial by the Senate. **If convicted by the Senate, Hastings will be permanently removed from his present $89,500-a-year judgeship. However, the Senate cannot impose any fine or jail term.**

MISSISSIPPI: When **ROBERT WALKER** was inaugurated as mayor of Vicksburg in late April, he became the only black mayor elected to lead that city and the only black mayor of a Mississippi city with a population greater than 25,000 (the city is 52 percent black).

The first black mayor of Vicksburg was Alderman **MELVIN REDMOND,** Walker's immediate predecessor and one of his election rivals. Redmond had assumed the post after the former mayor, **DEMERY GRUBBS,** resigned on February 14, 1988. Walker will complete Grubb's unexpired term, which ends in December 1991.

Walker has been replaced on the Warren County Board of Supervisors (District 3) by Rev. **KEMP BURLEY, JR.,** who is black. Burley must be elected in November to retain his seat on the board.

NEW JERSEY: **DONALD PAYNE,** a 53-year-old Newark city councilman, is set to become the first black congressman from New Jersey, having decisively beaten his fellow councilman, **RALPH T. GRANT, JR.,** in the June 7th Democratic primary by a vote margin of 3 to 1. Payne is highly favored to win the heavily Democratic 10th District congressional seat, which retiring Rep. **PETER RODINO** (D-N.J.) is vacating after 40 years. Payne's opponent is Republican **MICHAEL WEBB** of East Orange. The district has a 58 percent black voting-age population.

Payne has a long record of public service. A second-term Newark city councilman, he has been the South Ward district leader since 1970; he also served on the Essex County Board of Freeholders from 1972 to 1978, becoming the director of the board in 1977. The first black national president of the YMCA, Payne headed the organization for three terms, from 1970 to 1973, and was chairman of its World YMCA's Refugee and Rehabilitation Committee from 1977 to 1981.

If elected to Congress, Payne plans to seek positions on the Banking, Finance, and Urban Affairs Committee and on the Select Committee on Narcotics Abuse and Control. He wants to address the problems of poor housing and rampant drug abuse in his economically depressed district.

VIRGINIA: **MAURICE A. DAWKINS'** campaign for the U.S. Senate has run into trouble since his nomination by the Republican party on June 13. Several discrepancies between his actual background and his public representation of it have recently been revealed.

For example, Dawkins claims to have campaigned for Republican president DWIGHT D. EISENHOWER, who was elected in 1952 and reelected in 1956. But it was discovered that in 1952 Dawkins was vice chairman of the New York State Volunteers, for Ike's Democratic opponent, ADLAI STEVENSON, and in 1956 he was a member of Stevenson's Southern California Campaign Committee.

Another embarrassing item is Dawkins' claim to have been a registered lobbyist on Capitol Hill since 1975. It was discovered that he was not registered. And although Dawkins never earned a medical or doctoral degree, he has used "Dr." before his name on his campaign literature and stationery as recently as May 23. Dawkins says he did receive an honorary doctorate of divinity from the California School of Religion. But *Focus* staff have been unable to locate any institution by that name in California.

In spite of all the publicity generated by these revelations, the candidate's spokesman, **MICHAEL SALSTER,** maintains that Dawkins has not been damaged by the reports, and claims that Republican support has grown. Salster also contends that the Democratic nominee, former governor **CHARLES ROBB,** is not invincible. "He [Robb] has been off the ballot for seven years and out of office for three years," says Salster.

The Forgotten Poor: Blacks in Rural Areas

Poor Blacks in Rural America Live Under Harsh Social and Economic Conditions and Have Access to Few Public Services

by Dr. Joyce E. Allen

Dilapidated housing, poor health, limited job skills, entrenched poverty. These are the conditions normally experienced by the nation's underclass, a group whose persistent poverty has captured the attention of policymakers, researchers, and the media and whose make-up, according to the Urban Institute, is overwhelmingly urban.

Yet these conditions also apply to the rural poor. The rural poor are often ignored, largely because they are dispersed across the country in hidden pockets of blight. This is especially true of the black rural poor. While public attention is focused on the problems of the urban underclass and ways to help improve their lot, millions of people in rural America continue to languish in poverty, largely forgotten. In this article, we examine the nature and extent of rural poverty among black Americans.

A Startling Poverty Rate

In 1986, a family of four was considered living below the poverty line if their annual family income was below $11,203. Based on this measure, a disproportionate share of America's poor live in rural or nonmetropolitan areas (the terms rural and nonmetropolitan are used interchangeably in this article). Twenty-three percent of the nation's population lived in nonmetro areas in 1986, yet these areas contained 30 percent of the poor. And although the vast majority of the nonmetro poor are white, poverty in rural America falls disproportionately on racial minorities. About 2.2 million blacks in rural areas fell below the poverty level in 1986.

The poverty rate among rural blacks is startling. In 1986, 42 percent of these blacks lived below the poverty line. By contrast, the poverty rate was 31 percent for blacks living in the central cities of metropolitan areas and 15 percent for whites in rural areas.

The Black Rural Poor: Some Characteristics

The most recent census data indicate that the black rural poor are different in many respects from their urban counterparts. Although it is difficult to develop a profile of the typical black rural person living below the poverty line, some traits are salient.

One of the most notable features is their geographic concentration. Among blacks, rural poverty is largely a Southern phenomenon. Those living in the South represent 97 percent of the black rural poor, and the poverty rate of Southern blacks is about 44 percent.

A common misconception is that poor blacks in rural areas are primarily farmers. While this was once true, farmers currently account for only 3 percent of this group, primarily due to the decline in farming among blacks. However, the poverty rate among black farmers is also very high: 45 percent.

- **Rural families.** The poor in the United States have become increasingly concentrated in families maintained by women with no husband present. This is true for both urban and rural blacks. Approximately 1.2 million (52 percent) of the black rural poor live in female-headed families, and 711,000 (32 percent) live in married-couple and all other types of families. However, poor blacks in central cities are more likely to be concentrated in female-headed families than are poor blacks in rural areas. By contrast, poor whites in rural areas are concentrated in married-couple and other types of families.
- **Rural youth.** Black children in rural areas fare badly, especially those in female-headed families. About 61 percent of black nonmetro children under six years of age lived in families below the poverty level, and this figure rises to an astonishing 83 percent for those in female-headed families. While poverty rates are high for young black children (under six years) in central cities, they are well below the rates for their rural counterparts. In fact, the corresponding poverty rates for young black children in the central city are 46 percent for all young children and 69 percent for those in families maintained by women. The poverty rate for young white children in nonmetro families is 22 percent for all families and 65 percent for female-headed families.

The economic status of rural black children as a whole (ages 0 to 17) is somewhat better than among those under age 6, but for both groups the situation is worse than that of their black counterparts in central cities or their white counterparts in nonmetro areas.

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The poverty rate among black children under age 18 in families that reside in nonmetro areas is 54 percent. The poverty rate for black children under 18 climbs to 78 percent among families headed by a woman.

- **Rural elderly.** The United States has made great strides in reducing poverty among the elderly. Overall, the poverty rate for persons 65 years of age and over has fallen from 35 percent in 1959 to 12 percent in 1986. Yet poverty is prevalent among the rural black elderly. About 245,000 of these elderly people were poor in 1986, which translates into a poverty rate of 42 percent, compared to 16 percent among rural elderly whites. The 1986 poverty rate for elderly blacks in central cities was 26 percent.

Poverty is especially pervasive among the black rural elderly who are classified as unrelated individuals (persons who are not living with any relatives). Slightly more than two-thirds of all these persons have incomes below the poverty level, while more than three-fourths of the women in this category are poor. The elderly depend heavily on retirement benefits and government transfers such as social security and Supplemental Security Income (SSI). Therefore, people who worked at very low wages or never worked outside the home, such as elderly black women receiving very low or no payments from these sources, are among the poorest of the poor.

Nature of Rural Poverty

While all poverty is harsh, regardless of location, it is especially so in rural communities. In the most depressed communities, housing often consists of rusty trailers and tin-roofed shacks. According to the Census Bureau's 1983 Annual Housing Survey (the most recent data available), which identified some of these substandard conditions, 19 percent of the units occupied by black householders in rural areas lacked some or all plumbing facilities, 19 percent lacked complete bathrooms, 11 percent lacked complete kitchen facilities, 8 percent had no piped water available on the site, and 2 percent had no piped water available within a quarter of a mile.

Severe and persistent poverty has also taken its toll on the health and nutrition of the rural poor. Research studies from the Washington-based Public Voice for Food and Health Policy reveal not only that many of the rural poor are underfed, undernourished, and in poor health, but that these problems are worsening. The studies found that the diets of the black rural poor were less likely to be adequate than those of their white counterparts. Stunted growth was found among black children in this category more often than among white children.

Problems with the delivery of social services in rural areas makes poverty among rural blacks especially debilitating. Many rural communities are thinly populated and the distances between them are often great. These factors isolate the rural poor from employment centers and from the social services designed to assist them and raise the cost to local governments for providing needed services. Unfortunately, many local governments in rural areas lack the resources to provide health clinics, subsidized housing, day care facilities, and public transportation.

Characteristics of the Black Rural Poor, 1986

Characteristic	Percent of Total	Poverty Rate
Reside in the South	97.0%	43.6%
Reside in the North and West	3.0	21.4
Live on farms	3.3	44.5
Elderly	10.9	42.1
Family Structure		
Live in families maintained by women	52.2	65.4
Children under 18 years	30.7	77.5
Children under 6 years	11.6	82.7
Live in all other families	31.7	24.5
Children under 18 years	13.3	31.4
Children under 6 years	3.3	31.3

Note: Categories may be overlapping. Thus, they do not sum to 100.
Source: Bureau of the Census, *Poverty in the United States: 1986.*

Outlook for Black Rural Poor

The black rural poor are extremely impoverished and their future may be even bleaker if action is not taken to alleviate their suffering. Although they have some of the characteristics of the urban black poor, they are unique, and their differences need to be recognized when strategies to help them are being developed.

While welfare reform could improve the economic situation of the black rural poor, many of their problems can best be addressed through broad-based rural development. (See "Welfare: Dependency vs. Reform" on page 3.) Congress is currently considering legislation that would target assistance to the rural poor. One such measure is H.R. 4373, the Lower Mississippi Delta Development Act, which would establish a commission to fight poverty in that region.

Rural development efforts need to include additional federal money targeted for health care, food, housing, and education. Yet such programs are costly and funding for them must compete with other goals, such as reducing the federal deficit and assisting the urban underclass. Solutions to the problems of the black rural poor are not likely to come, therefore, until there is widespread public recognition of the severity of rural poverty and the tremendous toll that it takes, especially on the very young and the elderly. □

Blacks and the 1988 Democratic National Convention

New JCPS Publication Shows That Heavy Turnout Could Decide the Presidential Election

The recent Democratic National Convention in Atlanta was historic in the level of black participation. Now, with the general election only four months away, it seems clear that the level of black voter participation may be the deciding factor in who wins the White House. How strongly blacks are likely to turn out at the polls and why, as well as where their votes are expected to be most influential, are among the questions answered in the Joint Center's newest publication, *Blacks and the 1988 Democratic National Convention.*

Written by Dr. Linda Williams, associate director of research at the Joint Center, the book not only served as a guide for black delegates at the convention itself but promises to serve political analysts and historians as an important summary of black involvement in U.S. presidential elections over the last two decades. The book also analyzes the 1988 primary campaigns of Gov. Michael Dukakis and Jesse L. Jackson and briefly examines their views on issues important to the black electorate. Following are some highlights:

- **Blacks at the 1988 Democratic Convention.** This year there were 962 black delegates to the Democratic convention, 23 percent of the total and one-third more than participated in 1984—and the largest number in party history. Several states showed significant growth in their numbers of black delegates: New York grew by 26 new black delegates, California by 30, and Michigan by 32, even though the total number of delegates from each of these states had actually declined. Black leadership and participation increased in both the Democratic National Committee (DNC) and in the Democratic National Convention.

- **Trends in Black Voter Participation.** The book details how the gap between black and white voter participation has narrowed tremendously since the passage of the Voting Rights Act of 1965. In presidential elections, the difference between these participation rates closed from 12 percentage points in 1976 to less than 6 points by 1984. Two million new black voters have joined the rolls since 1980, so that blacks now make up 11.2 percent of the electorate.

- **States Where the Black Vote May Be Decisive in November.** In six Southern states, blacks constitute a large enough minority that, if they vote in substantial numbers for Dukakis this fall, no more than 27 percent of the white voters need to support Dukakis for him to win in those states. They are Georgia, Louisiana, Maryland, Alabama, South Carolina, and Mississippi (where the white vote needed is only 19 percent).

  The black vote could also prove decisive in New York and Massachusetts, where the number of unregistered blacks is considerably greater than the margin of Ronald Reagan's victory over Walter Mondale in 1984. For the same reasons, increased minority registration could be pivotal in 14 other states.

- **Softening of Black Loyalty to the Democratic Party.** Although the Democratic party has gotten between 85 and 90 percent of the black vote in presidential elections since 1968, black loyalty to the party shows some signs of softening. While the white/black gap in voter participation should continue to narrow, black turnout might not grow as fast for the fall elections as it did between 1980 and 1984 without a massive push by voter registration groups. Turnout estimates from this year's Democratic primaries bear out this warning; black participation went up only 3 percentage points from 1984, as compared with the 1980-84 increase of 8 points.

Similarly, recent polls by the Gallup Organization and the Joint Center show that the number of blacks describing themselves as "strong" Democrats has declined—from 55 percent in 1984 to 41 percent in 1987. Those describing themselves as "weak" Democrats rose from 21 percent to 31 percent. Still, there is no evidence that these blacks are moving into the Republican column.

In summary, the book makes it clear that the central issue for the Democratic party this fall will not be whether the majority of blacks will vote for Dukakis but, rather, how large the black turnout will be. Unless Republican nominee George Bush and his party offer blacks good reasons to switch their allegiance over to the Republicans, blacks are likely to vote overwhelmingly for the Democrats once again. However, *if* blacks are not enthusiastic about the Dukakis-Bentsen ticket, their turnout—from the standpoint of Democratic leaders—may be perilously low. ☐

Copies of ***Blacks and the 1988 Democratic National Convention*** **can be ordered through the Publications Clerk, Joint Center for Political Studies, Suite 400, 1301 Pennsylvania Ave., N.W., Washington, D.C. 20004; telephone 202/626-3500.**

This summary was prepared by Marc DeFrancis, senior editor at the Joint Center for Political Studies.

Welfare

(Continued from page 4)

grams, in which case they are likely to implement low-cost (and ineffective) job search programs or CWEP.

Round table participants expressed some skepticism about the ability of the local economies to absorb newly trained AFDC recipients even in the states that are able to implement comprehensive welfare programs as originally intended by AFDC reformers. If local economies cannot provide high enough wages, the economic incentive and logic of choosing work over welfare disappears. (It is estimated that in California, a family of three would need a wage of $10.26 an hour to have an income that exceeded AFDC cash and in-kind benefits.)

Assuming that some version of the welfare reform bill passes Congress this year and that President Reagan does not veto it, some members of the round table fear that the measure is not likely to significantly reduce long-term dependency or the cost of public assistance. It may simply transform the nonworking dependent poor into working dependent poor and increase government intrusion in their lives. □

Welfare Reform Legislation: Major Provisions

	House of Representatives **Family Welfare Reform Act H.R. 1720**	**Senate** **Family Security Act of 1988 S. 1511**
Education, Employment, and Training Programs	States must provide remedial and specialized education, English language, job skills training, job search and counseling. They must also provide other programs such as unpaid community work experience (CWEP) or grant diversion where AFDC grant is transferred directly to employers who make up the difference in wages.	States must provide basic education and skills training and two of the following: CWEP, job search services, or grant diversion.
AFDC Recipient Participation	Full-time mandatory for parents with children over 6; part-time with children over 3. Volunteers have first priority to participate.	Part-time mandatory for parents of children under 6 for 24 hours per week. Participation quotas for single parents that increase over time from 10% by FY 1990, to 14% by FY 1993, to 22% by FY 1994.
Unemployed Parent	Assistance extended to two-parent families with unemployed father in all states.	Assistance extended to all states. One parent must participate in CWEP or grant diversion 16 hours or more a week.
Unpaid Community Work Experience (CWEP) or "Workfare" in Return for Assistance	Limited to a total of six months per individual; work assignment must have a training component.	No time limits.
Minimum Compensation	Cannot be forced to accept a job that pays less than total value of AFDC and the value of health benefits.	Cannot be made to accept job that pays less than cash value of AFDC unless the state makes up the difference in cash.
Child Care Transition Assistance	12 months after finding employment if income under 150% of poverty level.	Nine months after finding employment, no cap on income.
Child Care Stipends	$200 per month per child for children under 2, $175 per month for 2 and up.	States will set limit; not to exceed local market rate.
Medicaid Transitional Health Care	No provision.	Six months, plus an additional six months with a sliding scale premium.
Total Cost	$7.1 billion over five years.	$2.8 billion over five years.
Date Passed	Passed on December 16, 1987, by vote of 230-194.	Passed on June 16, 1988, by vote of 93-3.

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Remembering a Man Called Moses

"Call Carl" is a familiar phrase to many motorists in the Washington, D.C. area. You get stranded, have a flat, your engine quits on you, whatever—if you call one of the service stations known as "Call Carl," they send a truck and mechanic to your rescue.

Another "Call Carl" had been relied on for many years by the nation's civil rights establishment. This reference of course is to M. Carl Holman, the late president of the National Urban Coalition, who died on August 9 at age 69.

Carl was a personal friend, mentor, colleague, and fellow member of the Black Leadership Forum. He will be sadly missed. He will be fondly remembered.

The "Call Carl" idea popped in my mind when journalists and others started asking me about Carl's life and his role among black leaders. I remember him as a thoughtful, brilliant tactician that other leaders could turn to to get some of their ideas and programs off the ground. Got a problem? Call Carl. A letter to the president? Convene a high level meeting? Call Carl. And Carl always responded, even when doing so required an enormous personal sacrifice.

So many of the recent dramatic civil rights events—marches, conferences, meetings—were put together and held together by the wisdom and tenacity of Carl Holman. He was a leader's leader, one who often took the back seat while his genius was being displayed through others.

Among his many attributes—and they were considerable—was his ability to overcome the inertia that inevitably sets in when it came time to put an idea into action. Call Carl and he'd come up with a first draft, or a position paper, or a strategic plan, or he'd have the wisdom and the courage to say the idea was really not a good one in the first place.

We can't call Carl anymore. He is now responding to a higher calling. But we can remember and be grateful for his contributions on so many fronts and battlefields, and be motivated to continue the struggle.

Carl was a man of diverse interests. He was an educator, a journalist, and an award-winning poet. One of his poems, "And to the Leaders," written over forty years ago while he was a student at Lincoln University in Jefferson City, Mo., presaged the man of political acumen and vision that he was to become:

You must have vision:
Know like a blueprint the way you have come,
And know the present like a familiar sum.
Climb through the smoke to the Eastern Hill
And watch the dawn rise beautiful and still,
Fire on your tongue, fire in your heart,
Hold the helm in the dirty weather;
When war and prejudice have done their part
Lead us all out together.

For the longest time after I returned to Washington in 1972 to head the Joint Center, I used to hear Vernon Jordan refer to Carl as "Mo." I didn't think much of that at first because "Mo" sounded like it might be one of those good old home boy names like "Bo" or "Bro" or "Man" with no legal significance. But when Vernon persisted, I asked someone about this nickname. The reply: "Because Carl's name is Moses Carl Holman." He rarely used his full name. He used M. Carl Holman to be formal. Most of us knew him as just Carl Holman.

How fitting. A man called Moses helped to lead blacks and this nation to this time and place. Come to think of it, Moses was a Call Carl in his day. ■

Eddie N. Williams

PRESIDENT

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Funding Candidates: Patterns of Political Giving

Small Contributions From Individuals to Presidential Campaigns Are Equal Between Democrats and Republicans.

by Dr. Emmett D. Carson

As November 8th draws nearer, national attention is focusing on the presidential sweepstakes as well as the 435 races in the House of Representatives and the 33 in the Senate. For those seeking elective office, it has become evident that political contributions, particularly by political action committees (PACs), are becoming more important. As the cost of running for office continues to escalate with increasingly expensive campaign technologies—radio and TV commercials, direct mail appeals, as well as public opinion polls and computers—the fundraising game has become more sophisticated and more costly than in the past years.

Candidates receive contributions from a variety of sources—individual contributors, political parties, and PACs. Several PACs even give money to other PACs. However, while some information on larger donors is available, little is known about the socioeconomic characteristics of the political givers who make contributions below $100. And even less is known about blacks who make small political contributions. Nevertheless, small contributors play important roles in determining the success of a campaign, especially for black candidates.

Blacks made substantial contributions to Jesse Jackson's 1988 and 1984 presidential campaigns. First-time black candidates often receive most of their *initial* financial support from members of the black community. This was certainly the case in the 1983 campaign of Chicago's former mayor, the late Harold Washington, and in the 1986 race of freshman Congressman Michael Espy of Mississippi.

This article provides a unique profile of the socioeconomic and political characteristics of blacks and whites who make political contributions. It is based on data from the Joint Center for Political Studies' 1987 survey conducted by the Gallup Organization. The data on political giving include direct contributions to political parties, individual candidates, and PACS. The survey was not, however, designed to identify patterns of political giving that occur through other types of organizations, such as churches, to support political activities or candidates.

Who Are Political Contributors?

The majority of blacks and whites who made political contributions in 1986 gave less than $100 (table 1). Contributions of $100 or less may appear small when compared with the contributions from corporations or the wealthy, but in the aggregate they represent a significant portion of the total contributions to political organizations. Small individual contributions also serve as an important barometer for measuring the general public's willingness to put its money behind a candidate or organization, and they allow a candidate to remain viable until he or she can secure other funding.

While the overwhelming majority of both blacks and whites reported making no contribution to a political organization in 1986 (81 percent and 74 percent, respectively), among those who did contribute, the most active were older, better educated, and earned higher incomes.

Among blacks, older persons were more likely than younger persons to contribute $100 or less (in the remainder of this article, all references are to political contributions of $100 or less). Among blacks ages 18 to 30, 2.9 percent made a political contribution, compared to 3.5 percent of blacks between the ages of 30 and 50 and 4.7 percent of those over the age of 50.

Blacks with higher levels of education and those with greater household incomes were also more likely to have made a political contribution. For example, while

Table 1. Political Contributions of Blacks and Whites in 1986

	Blacks	**Whites**
No Contribution	81.0%	73.9%
Less than $50	2.6	8.9
$50—$99	1.0	2.8
$100—$499	0.5	3.8
$500 or More	0.1	0.7
Unreported	14.7	10.0
Total Respondents	*918*	*916*

Note: The response data in tables 1 through 3 have a sampling error of 4 percentage points for each group. Percentages may not add to 100 due to rounding.

Dr. Carson, a research associate at the Joint Center, is the manager of the Center's Philanthropy Project.

only 1.8 percent of blacks who had not completed high school made a contribution, 3.1 percent of black high school graduates made one. This compares to 5.4 percent of blacks with some college and 9.7 percent of black college graduates. Similarly, while only 1.1 percent of blacks with household incomes below $12,000 made contributions, 5.9 percent of those with incomes of $12,000 to $25,000, 7.7 percent with incomes of $25,000 to $40,000, and 7.9 percent with incomes above $40,000 made contributions.

Contributions among blacks also vary by region and gender. Those living in the Midwest (5.9 percent) were the most likely to have contributed to a political organization, followed by blacks living in the East (4.3 percent), blacks living in the South (2.8 percent), and blacks living in the West (1.2 percent). Finally, black men were more likely to have contributed than black women (5.2 percent compared to 2.3 percent).

Party Affiliation and Political Giving

Our survey also reveals that a greater percentage of whites than blacks made political contributions, regardless of political affiliation. This difference is illustrated in table 2, which shows giving by political affiliation and race in 1986. For example, 14 percent of white Democrats made a political contribution compared to 4 percent of black Democrats. Similarly, while 18 percent of white Republicans contributed, only 1 percent of black Republicans did so.

But nonaffiliated givers contributed more than contributors who reported a specfic party preference. Six percent of black independents and 20 percent of white independents reported that they had made a political contribution in 1986.

An interesting revelation of the survey is that blacks with a Republican presidential preference for the 1988 election and those with a Democratic preference reported roughly the same level of contributions: 4 percent and 5 percent, respectively. Similarly, the giving behavior of whites with a Republican preference and those with a Democratic preference showed nearly identical levels of political contributions: 20 and 19 percent, respectively.

These two observations are illustrated in table 3, which shows the percentage of blacks and whites who made contributions to political organizations in 1986, according to their presidential party preferences.

Table 2. Political Giving by Party Affiliation and Race in 1986

	Democrats		Republicans		Independents	
	BLACKS	**WHITES**	**BLACKS**	**WHITES**	**BLACKS**	**WHITES**
Less than $50	2.6%	7.9%	0.5%	9.4%	4.0%	10.8%
$50-$99	0.9	2.4	0.9	2.4	2.4	4.0
$100 or More	0.7	3.3	0.0	4.0	0.0	4.9
$500 or more	0.2	0.2	0.0	1.8	0.0	0.2
No Contribution	81.9	74.6	70.8	72.6	[illegible].8	73.0
Unreported	13.8	11.7	27.7	9.9	11.8	7.1
Total Respondents	*679*	*300*	*7*	*277*	*111*	*293*

Table 3. Political Giving in 1986 by 1988 Party Presidential Preference (1987 Survey)

	Republican Presidential Preference		Democratic Presidential Preference	
	Blacks	**Whites**	**Blacks**	**Whites**
Less than $50	4.2%	10.8%	2.8%	10.8%
$50–$99	0.0	2.8	1.2	3.3
$100–$499	0.0	4.9	0.6	4.6
$500 or More	0.0	1.7	0.2	0.2
No Contributions	73.2	70.2	81.5	71.6
Unreported	22.6	9.5	13.7	9.5
Total Respondents	*71*	*325*	*715*	*317*

Conclusion

Overall, the data suggest that few blacks or whites make any political contributions at all. A greater percentage of white independents were found to have made political contributions than white Republicans or Democrats, and the same was true for blacks. Finally, when one looks at political contributions by those who have a party presidential preference, contributions from Democrats and Republicans seem to be made in roughly equal proportions. ■

Upcoming Books, Documentary on Black Philanthropy

Dr. Emmett Carson has been collecting data on black giving patterns since 1986. The results of his work on black philanthropic behavior will be released this winter in two books he has authored. In addition, a documentary on black philanthropy produced by the Joint Center's Communications Department is currently available.

In *Black Philanthropy in America,* Dr. Carson presents data, much of which is previously undocumented, on which blacks give, how much they give, who they give to, and why. He also describes the history of philanthropy in the black community since the days of the Underground Railway. *The Charitable Appeals Fact Book,* a smaller companion volume, focuses on the effectiveness of different charitable appeals techniques—telephone calls, letters, telethons—in persuading blacks to give.

A Tradition of Giving is a 30-minute documentary that takes an inside look at churches, fraternal groups, social service agencies, and fund-raising organizations around the country that are dedicated to helping black Americans. The documentary and other products of the Joint Center's Electronics Programs Division will be reviewed in the September issue of *Focus.* The documentary is available on VHS cassettes for $39.95 ($25.00 each for three or more copies). To order, contact the Office of Program Development, JCPS, 1301 Pennsylvania Ave., N.W., Suite 400, Washington, D.C. 20004; telephone 202-626-3500.

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POLITICAL TRENDLETTER®

Inside This Issue

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- **Senate voting records show significant differences between vice presidential nominees Lloyd Bentsen and Dan Quayle.**
- **Across the Nation: JCPS President Eddie N. Williams wins a MacArthur Foundation award; Yonkers continues to defy the federal courts over desegregation; black Republican Ron Crutcher runs again in Ohio; Rep. Mickey Leland may try for Bentsen's Senate seat in Texas; Voting Rights advocates lose in Virginia.**

House Passes Tougher Sanctions Against South Africa

In what some have described as "a declaration of economic war" against the South African regime, the House of Representatives voted August 11 to impose more stringent sanctions against the regime and U.S. corporations and individuals who have investments there. The Anti-Apartheid Act Amendments of 1988 (H.R. 1580), sponsored by Rep. Ronald Dellums (D-Calif.), were adopted with bipartisan support by a vote of 244 to 132.

These sanctions, which supporters of the bill argued were needed because of the regime's increasing intransigence, are far more extensive than the limited measures passed by Congress in 1986 over President **RONALD REAGAN'S** veto. The Anti-Apartheid Act Amendments would ban virtually all trade with South Africa except the importation of strategic minerals; require U.S. corporations, institutions, and private citizens to withdraw all investments in South Africa except those in wholly black-owned businesses; end all U.S. exports to South Africa except farm products, publications, and humanitarian assistance; ban the shipment of oil to South Africa on ships owned, controlled, or registered by American concerns; and prohibit intelligence and military cooperation between the U.S. and South Africa except intelligence relating to Cuban troops in the People's Republic of Angola. Furthermore, the legislation would prohibit the issuance of new federal leases for oil, coal, and natural gas to American subsidiaries of foreign concerns that have investments in, or export oil to, South Africa.

Proponents of H.R. 1580 argued during floor debates that while the 1986 legislation had been an important first step toward ending U.S. support of the apartheid regime, some of that bill's provisions have since been circumvented. **Members of the Congressional Black Caucus led other bill supporters in charging that the Departments of State and Commerce have been exploiting loopholes in the 1986 law and have weakened some of its major provisions by implementing loose regulations. The General Accounting Office has reported, for example, that the administration undermined the 1986 ban on uranium imports by allowing South African and Namibian uranium to be imported in the form of uranium hexaflouride. And while certain bank loans to South Africa were prohibited, short-term credits, through which South Africa finances 70 percent of its trade, were made exempt. Other loopholes have permitted the rescheduling of outstanding loans and the reinvestment of profits from U.S.-based South African operations.**

Advocates of the current bill also asserted that more stringent measures were needed because the 1986 law required President Reagan to renew and strengthen the sanctions measure if the apartheid regime were to fail to decrease its internal and external repression. Last October, Reagan refused to recommend the additional measures required by law, and instead released a report citing the administration's view that sanctions are the reason for the lack of progress because they have resulted in "a marked reduction in our ability to persuade the South African government to act responsibly on human rights issues."

Dellums and other sponsors said President Reagan's refusal to obey the law required the Congress to respond. They noted that in the past two years, the apartheid regime has indeed intensified its repression of blacks in both South Africa and neighboring Namibia, which South Africa illegally occupies. Examples of this increasing entrenchment include the extension of the State of Emergency (now more than three years old), the banning of all activities by anti-apartheid organizations and leaders, the expansion of press censorship, and the jailing of white conscientious objectors who refuse to serve in the apartheid army. Sponsors of the bill also warned that South Africa's recent escalation of military attacks against the neighboring black-ruled countries, known as the Frontline States (Angola, Mozambique, Zimbabwe, Zambia, Botswana, Tanzania, and Lesotho), may soon lead to an all-out regional war.

Legislators seeking stronger sanctions began drafting a new bill shortly after passage of the 1986 law. They introduced it on March 12, 1987, but it was held up in eight different House committees and therefore only reached the floor this August. Nevertheless, House Republicans and administration officials have accused Dellums and the other sponsors of making the bill a partisan issue during the presidential campaign. They have also contended that implementing the new sanctions could damage current negotiations among officials from South Africa, Angola, and Cuba concerning the removal of South African troops from Angola and the creation of an independence plan for Namibia.

Dellums countered these objections on the House floor, arguing that the vote on the bill should not be delayed on behalf of the ongoing southern African negotiations. He challenged President Reagan to agree not to veto the bill so long as it passed both houses, and promised that in return he would then delay the vote until early September. When administration officials and House Republicans refused Dellums' compromise, he refused to delay the vote. Said Dellums, "They said they could not deliver. So we are going forward; this is our responsibility."

Dellums added that the current call for sanctions had nothing to do with the 1988 presidential election. "My objective here is not simply to pass a bill," he remarked, noting that he has been pushing for South African sanctions since he was elected to the House 18 years ago. "This has been no quick fix. . . . We are not bringing up this bill to attempt to embarrass the Republicans. We are here to try to free South Africa. . . . I want to see **NELSON MANDELA** free, and I will not stop until I do." Dellums' appeal was greeted with a standing ovation from his House colleagues on both sides of the aisle—a rare display of bipartisan respect during legislative debates. Shortly thereafter, H.R. 1580 was passed.

A companion Senate measure (S. 2378), introduced by Senators EDWARD KENNEDY (D-Mass.) and ALAN CRANSTON (D-Calif.), is scheduled to be voted on by the Senate Foreign Relations Committee on September 8. However, congressional insiders say it is doubtful that S. 2378 will be voted on by the full Senate before Congress adjourns. Even if the bill does get to the floor for debate, Republican opponents are standing by to filibuster and halt its passage.

Bentsen and Quayle Voting Records: Where They Differ

Debate over the experience and qualifications of the two parties' vice presidential nominees, while occasionally intense, has often failed to focus on substantive policy issues. Both men have been called conservative. Both voted for the massive cuts in social programs and the tax reductions requested by President Reagan early in his administration. Both supported large increases in military spending, and **LLOYD BENTSEN** voted with **DAN QUAYLE** for Contra aid as well. Finally, both nominees voted for the balanced-budget amendment to the Constitution which, had it passed, would have brought even greater pressure to make deeper cuts in domestic social programs.

But the voting records of Bentsen and Quayle differ markedly on a number of key issues. Quayle opposed the Civil Rights Restoration Act and voted to confirm **ROBERT BORK** for the Supreme Court. And while he cosponsored the Job Training Partnership Act with Senator Edward Kennedy (D-Mass.), Quayle opposed a measure to require employers to give 60 days notice of plant closings. In the accompanying table, *Focus* magazine takes a look at how Quayle and Bentsen voted on 17 selected issues of national concern.

Comparison of Quayle and Bentsen Roll-call Votes in the Senate on Selected Domestic and Foreign Issues, 1982-1988

LEGISLATURE MEASURE (Year and Vote No.)	QUAYLE'S VOTE	BENTSEN'S VOTE	SENATE ACTION
Passage of **Civil Rights Restoration Act,** reaffirming pre-Grove City civil-rights compliance rules for institutions receiving federal funds (1988, vote #12)	AGAINST	FOR	Passed: 75 to 14
Vote to **override Reagan's veto** of the Civil Rights Restoration Act (1988, vote #67)	AGAINST	FOR	Passed: 73 to 24
Confirmation of **Robert H. Bork** to the U.S. Supreme Court (1987, vote #348)	FOR	AGAINST	Defeated: 42 to 58
Amendment to designate **Martin Luther King's Birthday** as a commemorative day instead of a paid national holiday (1983, vote #295)	FOR	AGAINST	Defeated: 24 to 69
Amendment to repeal requirements in the **Voting Rights Act** for bilingual assistance during elections (1982, vote #182)	FOR	AGAINST	Defeated: 32 to 54
Resolution calling for a Constitutional amendment to require a **Balanced Federal Budget** (1986, vote #45)	FOR	FOR	Defeated: 66 to 34*
Bill requiring **60 days notice of plant closings** and major layoffs by employers (1988, vote #225)	AGAINST	FOR	Passed: 72 to 23
Passage of **Job Training Partnership Act** (1982, vote #207)	FOR	FOR	Passed: 95 to 0
Measure to block defunding of the **Legal Services Corp.,** which provides legal assistance to the poor (1987, vote #410)	AGAINST	AGAINST	Passed: 70 to 28
Medicare Catastrophic Protection Act to protect elderly beneficiaries from catastrophic health costs. (1987, vote #353)	FOR	FOR	Passed: 86 to 11
Measure to block addition of $25 million in funding for **Childhood Immunization** (1986, vote #80)	FOR	AGAINST	Passed: 49 to 46
Bill to establish **Veterans Administration as a cabinet-level department** (1988, vote #242)	AGAINST	FOR	Passed: 84 to 11
Small Business, International Trade and Competitiveness Act (H.R. 4848, also known as the "Trade Bill") (1988, vote #288)	FOR	FOR	Passed: 85 to 11
Measure to block retention of $300 million in appropriations for **African famine relief** (1986, vote #217)	FOR	AGAINST	Passed: 51 to 49
Measure to block an amendment requiring the Secretary of State to **negotiate with South African-backed rebel forces (RENAMO)** in Mozambique (1987, vote #305)	AGAINST	FOR	Passed: 61 to 34
Amendment to appropriate $100 million in **aid to the Nicaraguan Contras,** including $70 million in military aid, together with aid to other Central American nations (1986, vote #229)	FOR	FOR	Passed: 53 to 47

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* The required two-thirds majority was missed by one vote.

Source: David C. Ruffin, *Focus* editor.

Across the Nation

DISTRICT OF COLUMBIA: **EDDIE N. WILLIAMS**, president of the Joint Center for Political Studies for 16 years, was one of 31 recipients of a John D. and Catherine T. MacArthur Foundation fellowship award. Each of the Fellows received a grant totalling from $150,000 to $375,000, to be allocated over five years and to be used as he or she wishes. Individuals cannot apply for fellowships; their names are proposed to the Foundation by a group of 100 nominators who serve anonymously.

Williams, an advocate of black political participation, has a background in journalism and is an authority on civil rights and black leadership. He is also a co-founder of the Committee on Policy for Racial Justice. Williams said that his grant will allow him to accomplish some of his life's ambitions while he continues in his position at the Joint Center.

NEW YORK: On September 1, the U.S. Supreme Court upheld fines and a contempt ruling imposed in August by the Second Circuit Court of Appeals against the City of Yonkers for its failure to implement a court-ordered housing desegregation plan. At the same time, the high court granted a stay of fines levied against the four city councilmen who opposed adoption of a program to build 1,000 low- and middle-income housing units in the city's mostly white neighborhoods. The council defied Federal District Court Judge **LEONARD B. SAND'S** 1986 order to remedy what he described as "forty years of deliberate housing and school segregation." In late June, the U.S. Supreme Court upheld Sand's desegregation order by refusing to hear the city's appeal.

On August 1, however, the council voted 4 to 3 not to implement any plan. Sand responded by imposing fines beginning with $100 on the first day and doubling each day until they reach a limit of $1 million daily on the fifteenth day. In addition, all four of the council members opposing a desegregation plan--Republicans PETER CHEMA and NICHOLAS V. LONGO, Democrat HENRY SPALLONE, and Conservative EDWARD J. FAGAN—were held in contempt, fined $500 per day, and faced possible jail terms. The stays on these fines recently granted by the Supreme Court will remain in effect, however, until the councilmen formally request that the Court review their cases.

The city has the resources to pay the fine until day 79, referred to by city officials as "doomsday," when the cumulative fines would exceed $66 million. The fines were temporarily suspended in August, were resumed for one week, and were then suspended again pending the outcome of a further appeal to the U.S. Supreme Court.

Meanwhile, the State Emergency Financial Control Board, established in 1984 to save the city from bankruptcy, has assumed full control of the city's financial operations. A wage and hiring freeze has already been imposed and the board is considering laying off municipal workers.

New York Governor MARIO CUOMO has been reluctant to get involved in the Yonkers dispute. He has the power to remove the councilmen from office, but has been waiting for the Supreme Court to rule before taking action. With fines depleting Yonkers' coffers and no sign that the councilmen will resign, the ball now seems to be in Cuomo's court.

OHIO: Black Republican **RON CRUTCHER**, a Dayton businessman, has launched his second attempt to unseat white five-term Democratic Congressman **TONY HALL** in Ohio's third district. Crutcher, the president of Cardinal Air Freight Company since 1986, is also a partner of R & D Associates, a tax and financial consulting firm where he began working soon after graduating from Wright State University in 1977 with a degree in political science. Although he's been active in the local Republican party, Crutcher has never held elective office.

Local observers say the odds are against Crutcher for several reasons. First, Hall defeated him in this heavily Democratic and blue-collar district in 1986, by a margin of 74 percent to 26 percent. And although Crutcher has worked hard to become better known in the black community, whites outnumber blacks four to one.

Nevertheless, Crutcher has been helped by the Dayton business community, which has raised $70,000 for his campaign thus far. And while he admits to weaknesses in his campaign organization, he is getting support from big guns in the Republicans party. This year, Crutcher is being bolstered by Senate Minority Leader **BOB DOLE**, whom Crutcher backed during the presidential primaries.

TEXAS: If three-term Democratic Senator **LLOYD BENTSEN** is elected vice president in November, black Houston Congressman **MICKEY LELAND** is "definitely interested" in replacing him as the next senator from the Lone Star State. Leland cannot actively campaign for the U.S. Senate now because Texas, unlike other states, allows a candidate to run for the offices of vice president and senator simultaneously, an option Bentsen has taken up. A 1959 state election statute, known as the "LBJ law," permits any incumbent Texas officeholder to run for reelection to his or her present post while also a candidate for president or vice president of the United States.

In the event that Bentsen becomes vice president, Leland plans to run for the Senate in a special election. A five-term congressman, Leland currently chairs the House Select Committee on Hunger and the Subcommittee on Postal Operations and Civil Service.

Other possible contenders for Bentsen's seat, should he vacate it, include Lt. Governor **BILL HOBBY** and Commissioner of Agriculture **JIM HIGHTOWER**, both Democrats, and incumbent Republican Governor **WILLIAM CLEMENTS**.

VIRGINIA: In Richmond, Federal District Judge **RICHARD WILLIAMS** dealt a blow on August 18 to minority voting rights in that state. Concluding the case of ***Irby v. Fitzhugh*****, Judge Williams ruled against the black plaintiffs, represented by American Civil Liberties Union (ACLU) attorneys, who had sued the state for maintaining a discriminatory school board selection system.** The state's system, in which school board members are appointed rather than elected, is used in 136 cities and counties throughout Virginia. (See "Taking History to Court," *Focus*, January 1988).

Despite substantial evidence that the appointive system has been maintained over the years with a racially discriminatory intent, Judge Williams ruled that the system no longer has a discriminatory impact. In fact, however, while blacks in some areas of the state are proportionately represented on school boards, in rural southern Virginia they are largely excluded or appointed in only token numbers. Judge Williams' ruling keeps the selection of school board members in the hands of the overwhelmingly white boards of county supervisors, commissioners, and city councils.

The plaintiffs' attorney, NEIL BRADLEY, declared that he will appeal the decision to the Fourth Circuit Court of Appeals early this fall.

Congress and Immigrants of the Future

Immigration Ceilings and New Admission Criteria Could Reduce the Flow of Newcomers From the Third World

by Olivia Phillips

Two years after dramatically changing the nation's immigration laws, Congress is again considering new legislation that could reduce the flow of immigrants from the Third World to our shores while increasing the flow of new arrivals from Europe. The Immigration Act of 1988 (S. 2104), sponsored by two senators who rarely agree on legislation, Edward M. Kennedy (D-Mass.) and Alan Simpson (R-Wyo.), passed the Senate on March 15 by a vote of 88 to 4. In sharp contrast to most immigration reform bills, this one moved through the Senate swiftly and drew little media attention. A companion bill, H.R. 5115, sponsored by Rep. Peter Rodino (D-N.J.), is now under consideration in the House of Representatives.

As currently drafted, the Senate measure would set a higher and firmer annual ceiling on immigration; increase the number of highly skilled entrants; and adopt a point system for admitting into the United States "selected immigrants," that is, those without family connections in this country. Most important, the bill would deemphasize family-based immigration, which today generates most of the entry visas to the U.S., and would establish two new categories for "independent immigrants" which would make it easier for highly educated, highly skilled English-speaking immigrants to enter the country.

With its new approach, the proposed bill has caused Hispanics and other minority groups to fear the restoration of a European bias in immigration policy and a curtailment of migration from Latin America and Asia. This would be a reversal of immigration trends over the last 20 years. During the 1980s, the regional distribution of immigration has been 45 percent from Asia, 37 percent from Latin America and the Caribbean, and a mere 12 percent from Europe. Immigration from Africa was under 3 percent during the 1980s, the lowest of all the continents.

Among those opposing the measure is Hispanic Representative Edward R. Roybal (D-Calif.), who believes that the bills' new education and English-language criteria for independent immigrants will reduce opportunities for Hispanics to immigrate from Mexico and Central America. He also views the bill as intensifying the trend of reducing migration from Latin American countries, a trend begun with the Immigration Reform and Control Act (IRCA) of 1986.

Nevertheless, proponents of the bill argue that it is in the national interest. "The distribution of legal immigration should better represent the labor needs of the country, as opposed to family relationships," says Dr. Malcolm Lovell, professor of government and business at George Washington University in Washington, D.C., and a specialist in labor relations and employment policy. Lovell testified in favor of the bill in December 1987 before the Senate Subcommittee on Immigration and Refugee Affairs, which Kennedy chairs.

Congressional attempts to change immigration policy have long been controversial. Advocates of preserving the "open door" tradition of U.S. immigration policy (more myth than reality) must often confront racial and ethnic bias.

Controversial Policy Proposals

The Kennedy-Simpson bill has two key provisions that are especially controversial. The first key provision would impose a new ceiling of 590,000 immigrants annually. This figure is about 100,000 higher than current annual immigration, and it would include all legal immigrants except refugees.

One point of controversy is that a ceiling is being proposed before IRCA's impact on immigration applications has been assessed. Passed in 1986, IRCA established an amnesty program for undocumented immigrants who had been residing in the U.S. since before January 1, 1982. Theoretically, the immigration rolls could be swelled by the thousands as the relatives of these new permanent residents enter the U.S. legally. Some Hispanic groups fear that the ceiling may not be high enough to handle the projected increase by the end of the century, which ranges from 200,000 (according to the Immigration and Naturalization Service) to 1.5 million (according to the Center for Immigration Studies, a Washington based research organization). Hispanic groups are also worried that a fixed ceiling could be lowered in the future, an act that could severely limit entry visas for the immediate relatives of U.S. citizens, who are currently subject to no numerical limits.

The second key provision entails "independent immigrants." As defined in current law, the term refers to

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Ms. Phillips, a graduate of Duke University, was an intern with the Joint Center for Political Studies.

those who have skills which are in short supply in the U.S. as well as those who are unable to enter through the current system because they do not have relatives here. The Kennedy-Simpson bill would expand the number of independent immigrants allowed from up to 60,000 to about 120,000 annually. Currently, there are three categories for the admission of independent immigrants: special immigrants, such as ministers of religion (6,000 visas per year); professionals with advanced degrees or exceptional abilities in the arts, sciences, and education (27,000); and skilled and unskilled workers (27,000).

Two new independent categories would be created by S. 2104: employment-generating investors (4,800); and "selected" immigrants (55,000). Applicants in the latter group could qualify for entry through a point system that would use age, English proficiency, educational level, occupational training and work experience, the U.S. need for people in a particular occupation, and age as the criteria for issuing visas. These criteria have stimulated strong protests because they would give European applicants an advantage and diminish opportunities for Third World applicants.

A Family Reunification House Bill

On July 28, a companion bill, the Legal Immigration Amendments of 1988, H.R. 5115, was introduced in the House of Representatives by retiring Rep. Peter Rodino (D-N.J.), who chairs the Judiciary Committee. The House bill, which differs from the Kennedy-Simpson bill by focusing on non-family-related immigration issues only, is currently in the Immigration, Refugee, and International Law Subcommittee which plans to hold hearings in early September.

The House bill is less odious to the groups that oppose S. 2104 because, in the words of Rep. Rodino, it respects the "principle of family reunification, but at the same time acknowledges the need for expanding the opportunities for immigration by the so-called new seed [independent immigrants]." Unlike the Senate bill, H.R. 5115 contains no overall ceiling, and it would provide an additional 800,000 visas over a five-year period for the close relatives of permanent residents, many of whom were granted amnesty under IRCA.

The measure would establish a five-member National Commission on Independent Immigration, which would be authorized to adjust the annual number of independent immigrants to a figure as low as 75,000 or as high as 225,000 (adjustments outside of these perimeters would require Congressional approval).

"Old Seed" Vs. "New Seed"

The different House and Senate proposals demonstrate a philosophical struggle that is rooted in the history of American immigration policy. On the one hand, the Senate bill's deemphasis of family-related immigration could cause "old seed" immigration streams to flow once again from European countries. Rodino's proposal, on the other hand, stresses family reunification. In fact, when he introduced H.R. 5115, he stated, "The principle of family unity must remain the primary basis of our immigration policy. My philosophy in this regard stems from my own immigrant heritage and the proud immigrant tradition of this country."

Between 1820 and 1860, immigrants from northern and western Europe constituted 95 percent of the nation's total. Congress passed discriminatory laws to limit immigration to those Europeans ethnically and culturally similar to the majority of America's white population. By 1910, immigrants from virtually all Asian countries had been denied immigration rights, and the 1921 national origins principle set quotas for each country based on the population of its nationals residing in the U.S.

Not until the peak of the civil rights movement in 1965 did Congress amend the Immigration and Nationality Act, eliminating country quotas. Ironically, the amendments were sponsored by the then freshman Senator, Edward Kennedy. Currently, about 82 percent of the legal entrants come from Latin America and Asia; last year, Mexico alone (with 72,300) sent more than one and a half times as many legal emigrants to the U.S. as did the whole of Western Europe (44,400).

Now, proponents of S. 2104 claim that the 1965 law shortchanges the "old seed" countries that no longer have numerous family ties in the U.S. For example, in 1950, Irish nationals comprised 8 percent of U.S. legal immigrant totals, but since the 1965 Act, their numbers have dropped to no more than 0.2 percent for any given year.

The Race to Adjournment

Time is working against the passage of any new immigration legislation before Congress adjourns in early October. The House Judiciary Committee must complete action on H.R. 5115, and the measure must wait until more pressing legislation is passed before it can be taken up for a vote on the House floor and a House/Senate conference committee irons out the differences between it and S. 2104.

If Congress adjourns before a bill can get through the legislative process, those opposed to changes in immigration policy may face a more difficult challenge next year. Some opponents argue that if passage is inevitable, they should get a bill passed during this Congress while Rodino is still involved. It is unclear whether a more generous bill would be developed under the chairmanship of Jack Brooks, the 18-term Texan who, as the next-ranking Democrat on the Judiciary Committee, will most likely succeed Rodino as chairman. ■

Blacks and the 1988 Republican National Convention

JCPS Publication Suggests Republicans May Have to Garner New Black Support to Win in November

With the release of this publication, the Joint Center has now completed a pair of studies that examine the size, distribution, and voting behavior of blacks over the past 20 years and that offer vital information on both 1988 party conventions. *Blacks and the 1988 Republican National Convention* not only lists the black delegates and alternates at this year's Republican convention in New Orleans, it presents an overview of black political participation in the party over the past 50 years. It also reviews the positions taken by the party's nominee, Vice President George Bush, on major issues, especially those of concern to black Americans. Following are highlights from the book.

- **Importance of the Black Vote in November.** Polls this summer have indicated that white voters are likely to split their support evenly between the two major candidates this November. Such a close race would make the black vote pivotal, especially in electoral-vote-rich states like New York and Texas with their large black populations.
- **Trends in Black Participation.** This year's Republican convention showed a decline in the number of black delegates, from 69 (3.1 percent) in 1984 to 61 (2.7 percent) this year. Since 1976, the level of black participation in Republican conventions has varied little, ranging from a low of 2.7 percent in 1980 (and again this year) to a high of 3.4 percent in 1976. This suggests that the Republican party has not benefited from the increases in black voter participation across the country in recent years. In the South, growth in black participation has been dramatic: by 1986 the black registration rate (64.6 percent) had exceeded the white rate (63.2 percent).
- **Republican Prospects Among Black Voters.** The prospect that Republicans could gather substantial black support this fall appears remote, given that they have not won more than 15 percent of black support in presidential races since 1964. The excitement of the recent Jesse Jackson campaign, coupled with the historical ties between blacks and the Democratic party, reinforce this prediction. Nevertheless, if the Republicans can capture between 15 and 20 percent of the black vote (departing from the 1980 and 1984 elections where they garnered only 12 and 9 percent, respectively) they might have enough of an edge to put them over the top in a close election.
- **Opportunities to Recruit Blacks.** Although Democratic support is still strong among blacks, there is increasing evidence of a weakening in black loyalty to the Democratic party. A 1987 survey by the Joint Center revealed a drop in the number of blacks who consider themselves strong Democratic supporters: from 55 percent in 1984 to 41 percent today. Further, younger blacks (ages 18 to 29), in spite of the fact that they constituted Democrat Jesse Jackson's strongest supporters, are three times as likely as blacks over age 30 to identify themselves as Republicans (18 percent vs. 6 percent). In addition to these broad trends, blacks have offered considerable support for Republican candidates in a number of recent nonpresidential elections, including the successful reelection bids of New Jersey Governor Thomas Kean, Illinois Governor James Thompson, and U.S. Senators Alfonse D'Amato (N.Y.) and Arlen Specter (Pa.). This year, the Republican party is running black candidates for major national seats as well, including two candidates for the U.S. Senate and at least three for the House of Representatives.
- **Today's Civil Rights Climate.** The younger generation of blacks today may be less concerned about civil rights issues than were their elders, who lived through the movement in the 1960s, and consequently may be less attached to the Democratic party's record of reform.

Although many blacks are likely to remember that Vice President George Bush supported President Reagan's veto of the Civil Rights Restoration Act earlier this year, some may be inclined to take his current "politics of inclusion" campaign theme seriously given today's civil rights climate. If the Republican ticket is willing to address issues of concern to blacks, it may have a chance to put some distance between itself and its party's history of resistance to civil rights legislation and thus garner greater black support.

Altogether, these trends and events may provide a window of opportunity for Republican party strategists seeking to bring blacks into their ranks. The fight over the black electorate, as a result, should prove intense as election day approaches. ■

Copies of *Blacks and the 1988 Republican National Convention* can be ordered through the Publications Clerk, Joint Center for Political Studies, Suite 400, 1301 Pennsylvania Avenue, N.W., Washington, D.C. 20004; telephone 202/626-3500.

This summary was prepared by Marc DeFrancis, senior editor at the Joint Center for Political Studies.

Black Leadership Meeting in New Jersey

The New Jersey Black Issues Convention (N.J.B.I.C.) will hold its sixth annual convention on Wednesday, September 7 through Sunday, September 11, at the Somerset Hilton Hotel in Somerset, New Jersey. This year's theme is "Where Do We Go From Here," as the conference will address the impact of black voters on the upcoming presidential election as well as the role and influence of blacks in the next decade. Eddie N. Williams, president of the Joint Center for Political Studies, will be the keynote speaker.

N.J.B.I.C. is a state institution modeled after the National Black Leadership Roundtable. The annual convention is designed to enable black New Jersey residents and leaders of statewide and nationally affiliated organizations to develop strategies, coalitions, and networks by which they can pursue their common interests. More than 1,500 black participants from throughout the state are expected to attend. The convention is considered one of the most important vehicles in the state through which the concerns of the state's 925,000 black residents are raised and addressed.

Among the issues to be addressed in workshops and seminars are:

Black Seniors: Accessing Services and Income Improvement

Minority Health Issues for the Elderly

The State of Black Health in New Jersey: AIDs, Hypertension, Infant Mortality

Welfare Reform: New Jersey's Project "REACH"

Where Do We Go From Here?—Political Prospects for the Year 2000

Blacks in Corporate America

Political Empowerment of Black Women

Racism in Education in New Jersey

Black Voter Participation

Youth: Building Positive Self-Images

The Afro-American Family

The Black Middle Class: Priorities and Responsibilities

Blacks in Culture and Entertainment

Blacks in the Peace Movement

Minority Groups and the Uses of the Press

Blacks and Labor

Civil Rights 25 Years After the March

The Role of the Black Church in Politics

For more information about this organization, write or call N.J.B.I.C., P.O. Box 1843, Newark, N.J. 07101; telephone 201-824-7463.

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PERSPECTIVE

Not Voting: An Option Blacks Cannot Afford

The 1988 presidential election campaign has been a curious one, and perhaps nothing is stranger than the notion, currently circulating among a few black Americans, that blacks should not vote because Jesse Jackson is not on the Democratic ticket or because he may have been slighted in Atlanta. Anybody who falls for this reasoning would stand in line to buy the Brooklyn Bridge. The fact is, most of these folks weren't going to vote anyway; they just want company.

Don't vote? What an insult to our common sense, to two centuries of struggle for full citizenship, to the memory of leaders like Dr. Martin Luther King, Jr., and to blacks' efforts over the past two decades to become power players in the political arena. And what an insult to Jesse Jackson's historic quest and accomplishments this year, and to his current efforts to increase voter participation.

Why vote? Because blacks have a special interest in this election's outcome. Virtually every poll shows that they are deeply dissatisfied with the policies of the past eight years and that more than any other group they want to ensure major changes. For example, blacks believe they have a crucial stake in the appointment of future Supreme Court justices. They have a vested interest in enlarging the ranks of the nation's 6,900 black elected officials. And blacks have a covenant with history: to use the right to vote, which they won with their blood, sweat, and tears.

Why vote? Because there are major policy issues at stake. Blacks are still saddled with an unacceptably high level of unemployment. Black children are victims of a failing public school system, and one-third of them are mired in poverty. Blacks have witnessed a shocking erosion in federal enforcement of affirmative action and sharply curtailed assistance for higher education.

The traditional wisdom among political analysts is that black voters can decide the outcome of a presidential election when the white electorate is evenly divided between two candidates and when a large number of black voters support one candidate. In the 1988 election, which continues to be very close, the black vote looms larger and larger as a potential force in the outcome. In addition to its size and cohesiveness, the black vote this year is especially significant due to the volatility of the so-called Reagan Democrats. George Bush wants to retain their support, Michael Dukakis wants to bring them back home to the Democratic party. One result is that neither candidate can afford to ignore the black vote.

Regardless of how black voters choose up sides on November 8, a critical test of their political will and sophistication will be whether they turn out to vote in large numbers. As Jesse Jackson might say, blacks may not always win when they vote, but they almost certainly will lose when they don't.

Fortunately, recent developments suggest that the "don't vote" squad has had little impact. Organizations such as the National Coalition on Black Voter Participation are continuing to mobilize the nation's 20.4 million black voters. If recent trends continue, blacks could close the voter participation gap between themselves and whites and even take the lead in some critical areas. If this should happen, blacks will begin to get some real respect from both political parties, regardless of who wins the presidency. ■

Eddie N. Williams

PRESIDENT

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A Salute to the CBC

Always Few in Number, Black Legislators Have Made Historic Strides in Increasing Their Power in Washington

by Dr. Linda F. Williams

Once labeled "the status quo caucus" or "a powerless social clubs" by its detractors, the Congressional Black Caucus (CBC) has developed into one of the most significant power blocs on Capitol Hill. Today, as the CBC observes the eighteenth anniversary of its founding, few analysts question its growing clout and effectiveness.

To be sure, like all political institutions in Washington, the Caucus has only limited power. Twenty-three black members among more than 500 other legislators, including 100 in the U.S. Senate, could not possibly influence national policy without the support of a majority of their white peers. But through its growing seniority, chairmanships of key committees, and the building of coalitions, the Caucus today has become a major force.

A sample of the Caucus's legislative achievements in the 100th Congress reveals the increasing prominence and muscle of its members and of the Caucus as a whole:

- **South Africa.** Building on the CBC's leadership in winning passage of the Anti-Apartheid Act of 1986, Rep. Ronald V. Dellums (D-Calif.) recently sponsored legislation (the Anti-Apartheid Act Amendments of 1988) that would impose more comprehensive sanctions against the South African regime. The measure was adopted by the House in August.
- **Education.** Rep. Augustus Hawkins (D-Calif.) authored the Elementary and Secondary School Improvement Act, which increases aid to school programs and supports technical programs in school curricula. Hawkins led congressional approval of the bill, which was signed into law in April.
- **Civil Rights.** Rep. Hawkins also played a critical role in the passage of the Civil Rights Restoration Act and in the House override of President Reagan's veto of the measure. The Act overturns the effects of the 1984 Supreme Court *Grove City v. Bell* decision by extending the reach of federal antidiscrimination laws to an entire institution (and not just one department of that institution) that receives federal dollars.
- **Budget.** Rep. William H. Gray (D-Pa.), chairman of the House Budget Committee, oversaw the approval of the $1.1 trillion FY 89 federal budget resolution in March. Under Congressman Gray's leadership, key education, nutrition, health, and mass transit programs were protected from cutbacks requested by the President. The budget resolution met the Gramm-Rudman-Hollings deficit reduction targets and maintained tax rates at current levels.
- **Minority Business Development.** Rep. John Lewis (D-Ga.) pushed for the passage of an amendment to the Airport Improvement Act setting aside 10 percent of the $8.6 billion program for contracts to minority businesses. As a result, a potential total of $861 million in contracts has been set aside for minority firms over the next five years.
- **Welfare Reform.** Rep. Harold Ford (D-Tenn.) led the passage of the House Welfare Reform bill (differences between the House and Senate versions are presently being worked out in conference). While Ford admits that the bill won't do all that progressive reform advocates would like, it would change policy in three areas by establishing education, training, and work programs as the foundation of the nation's welfare reform system. The bill would give families new opportunities to become self-sufficient and assist those who are least able to help themselves. Furthermore, it mandates that all states provide Aid to Families With Dependent Children (AFDC) benefits for needy children in two-parent families when the principal earner of the family is unemployed.

These are only a few of the measures whose passage largely depended on the leadership of Caucus members. Although each measure is closely identified with a specific legislator, its passage required the skillful coalition building of the entire CBC. As George A. Dalley, counsel and staff director to Rep. Charles Rangel (D-N.Y.), notes of the Caucus: "the whole is greater than the sum of its parts."

The Evolution of Black Representation in Congress

To understand how the Caucus has maximized its influence despite its small numbers, it is important to consider the history of black political power in America and the nature of the congressional committee and seniority system.

The history of blacks in Congress mirrors the general political history of blacks in America. To date 64 blacks have served in both houses. The first blacks in Congress—Hiram Revels (R-Miss.) in the Senate, and Joseph H. Rainey (R-S.C.) and Jefferson F. Long (R-Ga.) in the House of Representatives—were seated in 1870 at the beginning of Reconstruction, when the right to vote was guaranteed to blacks by the Constitution for the

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first time. Altogether, 22 blacks from the South were elected to Congress during the Reconstruction period.

But after federal troops withdrew from the South as part of the Hayes-Tilden compromise of 1877, the enactment of Jim Crow laws and the de-facto disenfranchisement of blacks brought an end to their political influence by the turn of the century. George H. White (R-N.C.), who served from 1897 to 1901, was to be the last black congressman from the South until the election of Barbara Jordan (D-Tex.) some 72 years later.

Speaking on the House floor in 1901, White's bitter farewell to his congressional colleagues proved to be prophetic: "This, Mr. Chairman, is perhaps the Negroes' temporary farewell to the American Congress, but let me say, Phoenix-like, he will rise up some day and come again. These parting words are in behalf of an outraged, heart-broken, bruised and bleeding but God-fearing people; faithful, industrious, loyal people; rising people, full of potential force. . . ." Yet it would take 28 more years before another black would stand on the House floor as a legislator.

In 1928, Rep. Oscar DePriest (R-Ill.) became the next black legislator, the first to be elected from the North. His election was the result of the first great migration of blacks to Northern cities. Since that time, black political power in the North's urban centers has been strong enough to keep at least one black in each Congress. But in the Senate, Edward W. Brooke (R-Mass.), who was elected to two terms (1967 to 1979), has been the only black to serve in that body this century.

Unlike the first 21 black members of the House, all of whom were Republicans, all black voting members since 1935 have been Democrats (Melvin Evans, a Republican from the Virgin Islands, served as a non-voting delegate from 1979 to 1980). The appeal of Franklin D. Roosevelt's New Deal policies, which shifted black voters away from "the party of Lincoln," also led to black Democratic representation in Congress.

The first black Democrat elected to the House was Arthur Mitchell from Chicago in 1934, and he was succeeded by William Dawson in 1942. But it was Adam Clayton Powell, the political giant from New York who, in the course of his 24-year tenure (1945 to 1967 and 1969 to 1971), set the precedent for power that would light the way for an entire generation of black legislators. The influence that Powell was to attain as a personally dynamic and assertive chairman of the House Education and Labor Committee (from 1961 to 1967) was later to be achieved by the Caucus as a collective body.

From Protest to Politics

As the protest movement of the 1960s adapted new methods for gaining empowerment, blacks shifted, in the words of civil rights leader Bayard Rustin, "from protest to politics." With the passage of the Voting Rights Act of 1965, sit-ins were replaced by political campaigns, and as more blacks voted, more blacks were elected to Congress.

In 1969, the nine black members of the House first discussed creating a black caucus. These legislators included three newly elected activists from the civil rights movement: Shirley Chisholm (D-N.Y.), who served until she retired in 1983, and sitting Congressmen Louis Stokes (D-Ohio) and William Clay (D-Mo.). The other black members of Congress involved in these early discussions were all veterans of Capitol Hill: Dawson, Powell, Charles C. Diggs Jr. (D-Mich.), Robert N.C. Nix (D-Pa.), Augustus F. Hawkins (D-Calif.), and John Conyers Jr. (D-Mich). By 1971, the CBC was officially established.

The members of the new organization quickly gained national visibility and became advocates for black people and causes that extended beyond the bounds of their individual districts and the jurisdictions of the congressional committees to which they were assigned. In the early 1970s for example, the Caucus conducted an investigation of alleged discrimination against blacks in the military, and held hearings throughout the country on the lack of health care for blacks and on racism in the media. Caucus members traveled to Chicago to look into the controversial killings of two Black Panther party members by city police and investigated the killings by national guardsmen of two black students at Jackson State College in Mississippi. And when President Nixon would not meet with Caucus members in 1971 to discuss black concerns, they boycotted the President's State of the Union address. Although these actions did not result in the passage of legislation, they did serve to increase national awareness of the plight of blacks.

It wasn't until 1972, however, that the role of the Caucus as an institution became clear. Rep. Stokes, who was then chairman of the CBC, established a task force headed by Dellums to define the group's purpose. The task force concluded that the Caucus could make the best use of its resources by ensuring that all major legislation being considered in Congress would reflect a "black perspective," so that the interests of black America would be incorporated into the legislative process. Achieving this mission required CBC members to remain in Congress long enough to gain seniority and to get seats on the major committees.

Seniority and the Committee System

Since the early 1970s, the Caucus has made the transition from an alliance of relatively young, low-ranking legislators to one of the most effective political institutions in Washington. This change can largely be attributed to the nature of the committee system, the importance of seniority, and the stature of blacks elected to Congress.

Committees do the real work of Congress, and they exert significant control over a bill's destiny. Any bill bottled up, not reported, or stopped in committee has little chance of passage on the floor. Similarly, any bill

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September 1988

JCPS

POLITICAL TRENDLETTER®

Inside This Issue

- Number of black elected officials is up, but growth rate is falling.
- Democratic and Republican platforms diverge in the areas of economics, civil rights, education, and foreign policy.
- Across the Nation: Two black women break political ground in Georgia; Yonkers gives in to desegregation order; New York Mayor Ed Koch faces uphill battle for reelection.

Number of Black Elected Officials: Good and Bad News

First, the good news. Since 1970, when the Joint Center for Political Studies compiled its first annual roster of black elected officials, the number of black officials has grown steadily. In 1970, there were only 1,469 black elected officeholders in America. This year, there are 6,829, an increase of 365 percent, including an additional 148 officials elected between February 1987 and January 1988. The three states with the most black elected officials are Mississippi, Alabama, and Arkansas, in that order (see table). The South led all other regions of the country, with 4,446 black elected officials; the Midwest has 1,285, the Northeast 695, and the West 367. Women account for 1,625, or 24 percent, of the total.

Now the bad news. Despite continuing gains, fewer than 1.5 percent of all elective offices in the nation are held by black Americans, even though blacks constitute 11 percent (20.4 million) of the nation's voting-age population. Perhaps more alarming, the annual rate of growth of black elected officials has been declining. The rate of increase between 1986 and 1987 was only 2.2 percent, one of the five lowest rates since JCPS began publishing the book. Viewed over five-year periods, both the rate of growth and the increase in absolute numbers have been declining dramatically. The growth rate from 1970 to 1975 was 138.5 percent (or 2,034 officials). Since that time, the rate has steadily dropped: 40.2 percent (or 1,409 officials) from 1975 to 1980, and only 23.3 percent (or 1,144 officials) from 1980 to 1985. And the rate for the next five-year period may be even lower—since 1985, only 773 additional offices have been won by blacks.

The primary reason for this slowdown is the near saturation of majority-black jurisdictions and legislative districts by black officials. Shortly after the passage of the 1965 Voting Rights Act, blacks rapidly began filling the elective offices in these jurisdictions. As more blacks were elected, the growth rate naturally declined. For black candidates to attain higher elective posts and expand their numbers, they must be able to attract more non-black votes in the future.

That is a tall order. The record of whites voting for black candidates is not good, and poll data show that some whites refuse to vote for blacks out of racial bias. For example, when whites were asked in the 1987 JCPS/Gallup survey whether they thought most whites would vote "for the most qualified candidate, and regardless of race" when a black and a white ran against each other, 54 percent answered that whites would vote for the white candidate, while only 38 percent answered that whites would vote for the most qualified candidate.

In addition to difficulties winning white votes, black candidates are often stymied by the racial barriers their constituents face, including: (1) election laws and systems, such as gerrymandering, at-large elections, and runoff elections, created to dilute minority votes; (2) socioeconomic factors, such as poverty and lack of education, which discourage minorities from participation; (3) psychological barriers, such as fear, apathy, and

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deference to whites, which result from years of political exclusion; and (4) institutional obstacles, such as inadequate information concerning voter registration procedures, inconvenient times and places of registration, the scarcity of black registration officials in some localities, and inaccessible polling places on election day.

If blacks are to again achieve sizable increases in the number of elected officials, they must continue to work with their allies toward the eradication of these obstacles.

Black Elected Officials in the United States, January 1988

State	Total	Net Change since January 31, 1987	Federal		State				Substate Regional		County			Municipal					Judicial and Law Enforcement						Education			
			Senators	Representatives	Governors	Administrators	Senators	Representatives	Members, Regional Bodies	Other Regional Officials	Members, County Governing Bodies	Members, Other County Bodies	Other County Officials	Mayors	Members, Municipal Governing Bodies	Members, Municipal Boards	Members, Neighborhood Advisory Commissions	Other Municipal Officials	Judges, State Courts of Last Resort	Judges, Other Courts	Magistrates, Justices of the Peace, Constables	Other Judicial Officials	Police Chiefs, Sheriffs, and Marshals	Other Law Enforcement Officials	Members, State Education Agencies	Members, University and College Boards	Members, Local School Boards	Other Education Officials
Alabama	442	-6					5	19			57		13	32	220			1	1	10	17	5	6		2		52	2
Alaska	4	1						1							2												1	
Arizona	13	-2					1	2			3				3											1	4	
Arkansas	326	7					1	4						27	143			16		1	40					1	92	
California	286	7		4			2	6	5		7	1	2	8	43	5		4	1	84		1	1			18	94	
Colorado	15	5					1	3							3					4		1					3	
Connecticut	65	5				1	3	8						1	31	2		2			2						15	
Delaware	22	1					1	2						2	11							1					5	
District of Columbia	244	7		1										1	9		224										9	
Florida	176	1					2	10			11	3		14	88	2		4	1	17			1				16	2
Georgia	458	13		1			6	22			85		3	17	217	1		3		15	2	1	1				73	2
Hawaii	1	0																									1	
Idaho	0	0																										
Illinois	443	5		3		1	6	14			28	1		13	150	47		12		24		1				2	119	
Indiana	67	-2					2	6			13			1	28		4	2		3							8	
Iowa	9	0					1				1				3							1					3	
Kansas	28	3					1	1			2			2	5	1		2		1							5	
Kentucky	70	-4					1	1			1			2	46					2	2	1	1	1			12	
Louisiana	524	10					5	14			120	11		29	164			2		9	42	1	15		2		125	
Maine	3	0													1			1									1	
Maryland	120	1		1			6	21			6			8	67		1		1	11		5					6	
Massachusetts	35	1					1	5			1				14	3											11	
Michigan	316	0		2		1	7	13			24		2	10	79			18	1	52	4				1	13	89	
Minnesota	12	0						1						1	3					4			1				2	
Mississippi	578	30		1			2	20			59	47	4	23	222			4	1	4	62	9	5				107	8
Missouri	166	1		2			3	12			3			15	93			5		6		2	2			2	17	
Montana	0	0																										
Nebraska	4	1					1								1												2	
Nevada	10	0					1	2			1				2					2						1	1	
New Hampshire	1	0						1																				
New Jersey	185	3					2	6			7		1	11	87							1					70	
New Mexico	6	0				1					1				1					2							1	
New York	250	0		4			4	16			11			2	31	6				50	1						125	
North Carolina	429	75					3	13	1		35	1	1	17	263				1	16		3	4				70	
North Dakota	0	0																										
Ohio	216	2		1			2	11			1	1		8	101	3		9		29					1		49	
Oklahoma	112	-5					3	5			2			12	47			21		1			1				23	
Oregon	10	0					2	1			1				2	1				2							1	
Pennsylvania	137	3		1			3	13						9	41			4	1	35	10	1					20	
Rhode Island	10	-1					1	5							3												1	
South Carolina	352	12					8	15			93	1	1	15	128	8				1			4			1	117	
South Dakota	2	-1												2														
Tennessee	143	2		1			3	10			47			2	40					10	7		1				24	
Texas	300	13		1			2	13			13			12	124	1				16	19		1		1	6	89	
Utah	1	0																		1								
Vermont	1	0						1																				
Virginia	126	3				1	3	7			35		3	7	59			3		2		6	3					
Virgin Islands	36	1			1	1	10			16															8			
Washington	13	-1					1	1			1			1	2					4							5	
West Virginia	23	3						1							18			1		2	1							
Wisconsin	23	5					1	3			2				10					3			1				3	
Wyoming	3	0						1							1												1	
Total	6,829	148	0	23	1	6	96	309	6	16	656	56	30	301	2,621	74	229	116	8	429	212	40	48	1	15	45	1,476	14

Source: *Black Elected Officials: A National Roster, 1988*, JCPS

Which Side Are You On: The Party Platforms

As Massachusetts Governor **MICHAEL DUKAKIS** and Vice President **GEORGE BUSH** enter the final phase of the presidential campaign, the platform adopted by each party at its nominating convention is becoming less of a focal point. This is typical. Nevertheless, platforms do represent the principal programs, goals, and actions that party leaders and partisan voters expect their nominees to carry out. To some extent, therefore, voters can reasonably choose which candidate to support by examining these party documents. To aid in that process, *TrendLetter* presents a brief comparison of the 1988 Democratic and Republican platform positions.

General Differences. The Democrats made a conscious choice to avoid specifics in their platform, just as the Republicans had done in 1980 and 1984. The resulting eight-page document was crafted to foster a moderate image of Michael Dukakis while also placating Jesse Jackson's forces. Even the document's title represents a compromise between the two camps: "The Restoration of Competence [Dukakis] and the Revival of Hope [Jackson]."

Republicans criticized the Democrats' platform as vague, and in their own document listed 125 issues which, they said, were ignored by the Democrats. In doing so, the GOP produced one of the longest platforms in its history—104 pages.

A View of the Reagan Years. The Republicans titled their platform "An American Vision," and not surprisingly, their vision of the last eight years conflicts sharply with the Democrats' view of the Reagan-Bush era. **For example, the *Democratic* platform stresses the failure of Reagan's economic programs to help low-income working people and the poor. It also charges that "voodoo economics" and "trickle-down" policies have converted the United States "into the world's largest debtor nation, mortgaged our children's future by tripling our national debt, placed home ownership out of reach for most young families, permitted the rise of poverty and homelessness on the streets of America, reduced the buying power of working men and women, and witnessed the decline of our industrial, natural resource, and mining base. . . ."**

The *Republicans* on the other hand, cite a litany of the "accomplishments" of the Reagan era: low unemployment, tax reform, low inflation and interest rates, increasing industrial output, rising business investment, and "the longest peacetime expansion in our country's history."

Civil Rights. The *Democrats* support affirmative action, including goals, timetables, and procurement set-asides, as well as such voting-rights reforms as universal, same-day, mail-in voter registration and agency-based registration. They also advocate passage of the Equal Rights Amendment, protection of AIDS victims from discrimination, and the right to abortion "regardless of ability to pay." **The *Republican* platform labels racial quotas as "the most insidious form of reverse discrimination against the innocent" and pledges to "resist efforts to replace equal rights with discriminatory quota systems and preferential treatment."** The GOP platform promises equal treatment for women, but not support for the Equal Rights Amendment. It is hostile toward legislation guaranteeing equal treatment for AIDS victims, and it supports an amendment prohibiting abortion and urges the appointment of judges who would support this amendment.

Education. *Democrats* advocate more federal financing of education, including tuition incentives for those willing to teach in economically depressed areas. They are also committed to the principle that no person should be denied a college education for financial reasons. **The *Republican* platform emphasizes freedom of choice in education, with a call for states to enact tuition voucher systems for both public and private schools. The Republicans also advocate magnet schools.**

Social Service Programs. The *Democratic* platform calls for expanding a number of social service programs, including child care for low- and middle-income families with minimum standards for health, safety, and quality. It also calls for treatment and counseling for all drug abusers who ask for it. The *Republicans* **continue to deplore "government intrusiveness" and look to a growing economy to take care of social problems over time. They call for expanding some social service programs in the near term, but continue to espouse reliance on local government and private agencies as the primary providers of social services.**

Economic Growth and Jobs. *Democrats* call for a national reinvestment strategy, "through a network of innovative regional and local programs for economic development." They propose to create jobs by constructing new housing and repairing the nation's infrastructure of roads and bridges. The *Republicans* **argue that the best jobs program is lower taxes and a free-market economy.**

South Africa. The *Democratic* platform calls South Africa "a terrorist state," supports comprehensive economic sanctions against the South African regime, and recommends setting a date for all U.S. corporations to leave the country. **The *Republican* platform calls apartheid "morally repugnant" but makes no mention of sanctions. It opposes actions against South Africa that would "have the effect of adversely affecting the rising aspirations" of blacks in that country.**

Across the Nation

GEORGIA: Two black Democratic women prevailed in summer runoff elections for Fulton County posts, becoming the first women to serve in their respective positions. Dr. **NANCY BOXILL**, a former professor at Atlanta University's school of social work, fought off four other candidates to win a seat on the seven-member county commission. Atlanta city judge **LEAH SEARS-COLLINS** defeated two old-guard candidates to become not only the first woman but the youngest person (at age 33) elected superior court judge in the county's history.

After surviving a June 14 special election in a crowded field of contestants, Boxill won a June 28 runoff for the Fulton County Commission's sixth seat, vacated by CHARLES WILLIAMS following his conviction for extortion. Her opponents included a former commissioner (**H.D. DODSON**) and Williams' former administrative assistant (**CLETA WINSLOW**).

Boxill, who was initially appointed to the Commissioner's post by Democratic Governor **JOE FRANK HARRIS** in November 1987, also directs the operations of two shelters for homeless women and children, and is a mental health consultant to the Atlanta Job Corps. The first woman elected to the Fulton County Commission since its creation in 1853, she is completing the unexpired term of Williams, which ends in December 1990.

Sears-Collins, a graduate of Cornell University and Atlanta's Emory University Law School, was a practicing attorney when Atlanta Mayor **ANDREW YOUNG** appointed her to the city court of Atlanta at the age of 27. Local observers consider her run-off victory over 50-year old black Democratic attorney **HARRIS C. BOSTIC** to be the triumph of a young insurgent over the old guard. She will be installed for a four-year term on the county superior court bench in January, replacing retiring judge **JOHN LANGFORD**, who is white.

NEW YORK: After years of stubborn resistance to integrated housing, the Yonkers city council reversed itself and voted five to two to comply with a federal court order to implement a housing desegregation plan. The city had been held in contempt and fined for defying an order issued by Federal District Judge **LEONARD B. SAND** to build 200 units of public housing and 800 units of moderate-income housing in mostly white neighborhoods. By voting to obey the order, the council averted bankruptcy for this city of 200,000 shortly after the doubling of daily fines had reached $1 million a day. By September 9, Yonkers had already paid over $ 2.6 million in fines.

With more than 450 municipal employees scheduled to be laid off, with garbage uncollected and libraries closed, and with the new school year beginning without crossing guards, the impact of the fines finally hit home. **Two of the four recalcitrant councilmen, PETER CHEMA and NICHOLAS V. LONGO, capitulated during a marathon meeting that ended after midnight, September 10.** By siding with three of their colleagues who have supported a desegregation plan, they provided the necessary votes to end the long and destructive impasse between the courts and city.

Indications suggest that the long-time antics of New York City Mayor **ED KOCH** are catching up with him, as revealed by his current loss of support—especially in the black community. Many New Yorkers—black and white—concluded that the mayor had heightened racial tensions in the city by his negative remarks about Democratic presidential contender **JESSE JACKSON** last April. **A June *New York Times* poll showed that Koch's favorable rating was just 36 percent, a drop of 30 points from a similar poll taken two years ago.**

But it was among blacks that the mayor's rating suffered the most dramatic decline, dropping from 59 percent in 1986 to 17 percent last June. His overall job-approval rating showed a similar decline. In January this year, 47 percent of blacks said they approved of the way Koch had addressed his job as mayor, but by June only 28 percent approved. An even larger decline took place in the number who approved of Koch's handling of race relations, from 43 percent in March 1987 to 19 percent by June 1988. Asked if Koch should be reelected in the 1989 mayoral race, only 30 percent had said yes this past January, but even that low number plummeted to eight percent by June.

Still, there was no consensus among those surveyed as to who the next mayor should be. Among blacks who wanted a new mayor (76 percent), the person who received the most support (seven percent) was Manhattan Borough President **DAVID DINKINS**. Dinkins, who is black, was the second most popular choice (two percent) among whites.

Since the mayoral campaign is still a year away, the field of candidates will not be decided for some time. Blacks, Latinos, and progressive whites continue to discuss who would be the most viable candidate and the one most supportive of their concerns. Some sources report that former Congresswoman **SHIRLEY CHISHOLM** is considering a bid for mayor. Regardless of who decides to run against Koch, a tough race is in the offing. But at present, Koch's chances for reelection do not look good.

SOUTH DAKOTA: Is there black power even in South Dakota? Well, at least there is a start. **KENNY ANDERSON**, a 56-year-old laundromat owner, has been elected city commissioner of finance and revenue of Sioux Falls, a city that is less than one percent black. During the campaign, he opposed increases in property taxes and water and sewer rates **and won a two-year term with 65 percent of the vote in a runoff election, becoming the first black ever elected to office in Sioux Falls and one of only three black elected officials in the state. The other two are Mayor SAM BOYKINS, JR., of Box Elder, and Mayor L. B. (BUD) WILLIAMS of Mitchell, both first elected in 1984.**

WYOMING: Four-term State Representative **HARRIETT ELIZABETH (LIZ) BYRD** won the three-way Democratic primary race for a state senate seat from Laramie County, which is only three percent black. A former school teacher, she became the first black state representative in Wyoming's history in 1980. The 62-year-old candidate says her main interests will continue to be economic development, child protection, and education.

Byrd, the only black in the legislature, was recently at the center of a controversy over a proposal to rename Missile Drive in Cheyenne to honor the memory of Dr. **MARTIN LUTHER KING, JR.** Business owners and residents on the street were opposed to the change. They argued that they were not notified in advance and that they did not want to change their addresses. As a compromise, a park was named in honor of King instead. Some feel the controversy might hurt Byrd's chances in the state senatorial election, but Byrd dismisses this notion, arguing that "the people who won't vote for me because of the MLK street renaming hassle probably wouldn't have voted for me anyway."

In other Wyoming news, **JESSE GUIDRY, who is black, is one of nine Democratic candidates on the ballot for a seat representing Natrona County in the state's House of Representatives. Natrona County, which includes Casper—the state's second largest city— is less than one percent black.** In the Democratic primary, Guidry came in fifth on a slate of 10 candidates campaigning for nine seats from Natrona County. The 41-year-old social worker heads a group home for troubled youths and is a commissioner for the Casper Housing Authority.

BEO Organizations Get New Leaders

Atlantic City Mayor **JAMES USRY** succeeds JOHN SMITH, the mayor of Pritchard, Alabama, as president of the **National Conference of Black Mayors.** Prince Georges County Commissioner **HILDA R. PEMBERTON** takes over the reigns of the **National Association of Black County Officials** from Fulton County Commissioner **REGINALD EAVES.** New York State Supreme Court Justice **HOWARD E. BELL** has been elected chair of the **Judicial Council of the National Bar Association,** succeeding **JOYCE LONDON ALEXANDER,** a magistrate from Boston, Massachusetts.

Black Economic Progress: An Agenda for the 1990s

JCPS Task Force Recommends Policy Changes to Improve the Economic Status of Black Americans

Following is the executive summary from the Joint Center's latest publication.

In this document, the members of the JCPS Economic Policy Task Force evaluate the effects of changing economic trends on black Americans and offer recommendations to better address the needs of blacks and the nation as a whole.

The members of the task force have concluded that many of the economic transformations of the past decade have had adverse effects on blacks, particularly on low-skilled workers. The black unemployment rate, which has remained at least double the white rate since the end of World War II, has been increasing over the past decade despite economic expansion.

The goods-producing sector was once an abundant source of high-wage jobs for workers with modest levels of education. That sector is rapidly declining. Yet, because of their low levels of skills and education the workers displaced from these jobs are unable to compete for jobs in the fast-growing technological and service-producing sectors, many of which are projected to have shortages of labor in the near future.

The members of the task force also point to the rising number of women and youths in the labor market, the influx of low-skilled immigrants, the current U.S. trade deficit, and the decreased federal emphasis on affirmative action and on education and training programs as further reasons why the median income of black families has stagnated over the past decade, and why, relative to white families, their median income has actually fallen.

The task force believes it is crucial for black low-skilled workers to receive education and training so they can compete for jobs in the growing employment sectors, not only to improve their own economic well-being but also to enable the economy to operate at its full potential.

The task force's key policy recommendations can be summarized as follows:

- Macroeconomic policy must be designed to increase the average rate of economic growth, since it is only in times of rapid growth that blacks have made major gains in employment and relative income.
- The federal government must return to vigorous enforcement of affirmative action policies and should assist the transfer of displaced workers into expanding industries.
- The weakening of the nation's global competitiveness must be remedied, not by broad protectionist measures, which tend to hurt low-income consumers and save few U.S. jobs, but by restructuring America's industries and retraining its workers.
- Federal policies should be developed to alleviate the negative economic impact on native-born low-skilled workers created by the influx of low-skilled immigrants over the past decade.
- Existing employment and training programs must be strengthened to meet the needs of the most disadvantaged.
- A national health insurance/access program is needed to improve worker productivity.

As the nation moves towards a new presidential administration, one that could take us most of the way to the year 2000, the task force is convinced that it will be critical for policies to address the needs of black Americans, and that what is at stake is not just the future of blacks, but the future of all Americans. ■

Dr. Margaret C. Simms, deputy director of research at the Joint Center and a member of the task force, coordinated the work on this publication. Other members of the task force include:

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A Tradition of Giving

JCPS Documentary Shows That the Majority of Black Americans Support Private Philanthropic Activities

by Wayne K. Williams, Jr.

Gwendolyn Brunson volunteers to help needy mothers receive proper prenatal care in Washington, D.C. Reverend Booker Guyton's AME church provides food for the needy in Oakland, California. Cynthia Williams, director of the Austin People's Action Center (APAC), links poor people with social service agencies in Chicago; as a last resort, she brings those with no place to live into her own home. And in Atlanta, the Phyllis Wheatley YWCA extends shelter to destitute mothers and their children. These are but a few names on the scroll of black humanitarians who have been providing vital services to the needy in communities across the nation since the eighteenth century.

Highlights of this history of black philanthropy as well as a look at charitable programs in operation today form the subject of *A Tradition of Giving*, a half-hour videotape documentary recently released by the Joint Center. The documentary, based on a three-year study of black philanthropic behavior in America that was conducted by Joint Center research associate Dr. Emmett Carson, illustrates a sampling of the charitable activities of churches and civic organizations in Atlanta, Baltimore, Chicago, Oakland, and Washington, D.C. The documentary was produced by Mark Lloyd, associate director of communications/electronic programs at the Joint Center and a former television producer with NBC and CNN. The Joint Center is distributing the documentary for viewings at conferences, organizational meetings, colleges, and universities to educate the public on this long-misunderstood subject.

Established in 1987 as a part of the Center's Office of Communications, the aim of the Electronic Programs Division is to expand the Center's audience through television, radio, and other media. *A Tradition of Giving* is just one of the division's products to date. The division has also produced a satellite teleconference, in cooperation with the Smithsonian Institution, entitled "Afro-Americans and the Evolution of a Living Constitution." And in cooperation with the Smithsonian and Radio America, a radio production company, the Center is overseeing production of eight 29-minute radio programs on the same subject. These eight programs will be available to radio stations at no charge during Black History Month next February.

A Tradition of Giving vividly challenges current misconceptions, such as that "most blacks are overwhelmingly dependent on government assistance" and that "more affluent blacks provide little assistance to the needy of their communities." In fact, 69 percent of the blacks polled in the 1986 Joint Center survey of black and white giving patterns reported performing some type of philanthropic activity. Moreover, Carson's findings on the relationship between contributions and income reveal that as the levels of education and income increase, the percentage of blacks who donate money similarly increases.

The philanthropic efforts of blacks are neither new nor scarce. They stem from a long history of charitable giving that continues to revolve around the black church, perhaps the most substantial and enduring institution in black America. Church-based philanthropy has addressed the most pressing needs of the black community for centuries, providing food, shelter, clothing, and educational support to those in need. Not surprisingly, the survey shows that black churches today are the recipients of 75 percent of all black charitable dollars.

In addition to the efforts of the black church, the documentary examines alternative fund-raising organizations. Also discussed are predominantly black fraternal organizations and mutual aid societies, like the Conference of Prince Hall Grand Masters, formerly African Lodge No. 459. This organization, widely recognized as the first black fraternal society in the nation, has been aiding the poor and needy for more than two centuries.

Dr. Carson says of his research: "These findings should provide a basis from which the discussion on black self-help can advance from misinformed notions. . . to discussions of how black philanthropic activity can be further refined to address the new challenges which face the black community." Indeed, the stories of those groups and individuals that provide and receive assistance, as told in *A Tradition of Giving*, should go far in helping to lay a foundation for these discussions. ■

A Tradition of Giving is available on VHS cassette for $39.95 ($25.00 each for three or more copies). To order, contact the Office of Program Development, JCPS, 1301 Pennsylvania Avenue N.W., Suite 400, Washington, D.C. 20004; telephone 202-626-3500.

Mr. Williams is a graduate of Bucknell University and an editorial assistant/intern with the Joint Center.

A Salute to the CBC

(Continued from page 4)

that is favorably reported out of committee has a greater chance of passage. Committees often make major changes in the legislation under their jurisdiction. And not all committees are created equal. In the House, for example, the four most important panels are the money committees: Budget, Ways and Means, Appropriations, and Rules (through which all bills must pass on their way to the House floor).

These were precisely the committees Caucus members first set their sights on. In 1973, Stokes was assigned to Appropriations; Rangel to Ways and Means; and Andrew Young (D-Ga.), who served from 1973 to 1977, was placed on the Rules Committee. Today, the Caucus can indeed boast of five members who chair standing committees, two who head select committees, and 18 who head subcommittees. Although only one of every 20 House members is black, roughly one of every four House committee chairs is black (see box, below).

The ascension to power by Caucus members is due in large part to their ability to accrue seniority by returning to Congress election after election. In years past, white Southerners from "safe" districts flourished under the seniority system, gradually taking control of almost every important committee and using that power to their region's advantage. Over the last 20 years, however, veteran black house members with safe political bases have used the seniority system to rise to key leadership positions.

As Walter Fauntroy (D-D.C.) puts it: "When we first came to Congress, we were opposed to the seniority system; the longer we're here, the better we like it." Thus black congressmen are now playing the game much as their white colleagues have, angling to move up in the ranks of House leadership and building broad-based coalitions around specific issues.

(Continued on back page)

Members of the Congressional Black Caucus—100th Congress

William Clay (D-Mo.) elected 1968—Chairman, Subcommittee on Labor Management Relations of the Committee on Education and Labor; member, House Administration and Post Office and Civil Service Committees

Cardiss Collins (D-Ill.) elected 1973—Chairman, Subcommittee on Government Activities and Transportation of the Committee on Government Operations; member, Energy and Commerce and Select Narcotics Abuse and Control Committees

John Conyers (D-Mich.) elected 1964—Chairman, Subcommittee on Criminal Justice of the Committee on the Judiciary; member, Government Operations and Small Business Committees

George Crockett (D-Mich.) elected 1980—Chairman, Subcommittee on Western Hemisphere Affairs of the Committee on Foreign Affairs; member, Judiciary and Select Aging Committees

Ronald Dellums (D-Calif.) elected 1970—Chairman, Committee on the District of Columbia; and Chairman, Subcommittee on Military Installations and Facilities of the Committee on Armed Services

Julian Dixon (D-Calif.) elected 1978—Chairman, Committee on Standards of Official Conduct; and Chairman, Subcommittee on the District of Columbia of the Committee on Appropriations

Mervyn Dymally (D-Calif.) elected 1980—Chairman, CBC; Chairman, Subcommittee on Judiciary and Education of the Committee on the District of Columbia; and Chairman, Subcommittee on Census and Population of the Post Office and Civil Service Committee; member, Foreign Affairs Committee

Michael Espy (D-Miss.) elected 1986—Member, Budget and Agriculture Committees

Walter Fauntroy (D-D.C.) elected 1971—Chairman, Subcommittee on International Development Institutions and Finance of the Committee on Banking, Finance, and Urban Affairs; and Chairman, Subcommittee on Fiscal Affairs and Health of the Committee on the District of Columbia; member, Select Narcotics Abuse and Control Committee

Floyd Flake (D-N.Y.) elected 1986—Member, Banking, Finance, and Urban Affairs and Small Business Committees

Harold Ford (D-Tenn.) elected 1974—Chairman, Subcommittee on Public Assistance and Unemployment Compensation of the Committee on Ways and Means; member, Select Committee on Aging

William Gray (D-Pa.) elected 1978—Chairman, Committee on the Budget; member, Appropriations Committee

Augustus Hawkins (D-Calif.) elected 1962—Chairman, Committee on Education and Labor; and Chairman, Subcommittee on Elementary, Secondary, and Vocational Education of the Committee on Education and Labor; member, Joint Economic Committee

Charles Hayes (D-Ill.) elected 1982—Member, Education and Labor and Small Business Committees

Mickey Leland (D-Tex.) elected 1978—Chairman, Select Committee on Hunger; and Chairman, Subcommittee on Postal Operations and Services of the Committee on Post Office and Civil Service; member, Energy and Commerce Committee

John Lewis (D-Ga.) elected 1986—Member, Interior and Insular Affairs and Public Works and Transportation Committees

Kweisi Mfume (D-Md.) elected 1986—Member, Small Business; Banking, Finance, and Urban Affairs; and Select Hunger Committees

Major Owens (D-N.Y.) elected 1982—Chairman, Subcommittee on Select Education of the Committee on Education and Labor; member, Government Operations Committee

Charles Rangel (D-N.Y.) elected 1970—Chairman, Select Committee on Narcotics Abuse and Control; and Chairman, Subcommittee on Select Revenue Measures of the Committee on Ways and Means

Gus Savage (D-Ill.) elected 1980—Chairman, Subcommittee on Economic Development of the Committee on Public Works and Transportation; member, Small Business Committee

Louis Stokes (D-Ohio) elected 1968—Chairman, Permanent Select Committee on Intelligence; and Chairman, Subcommittee on Program and Budget Authorization of the Select Committee on Intelligence; member, Appropriations Committee

Edolphus Towns (D-N.Y.) elected 1982—Member, Government Operations; Public Works and Transportation; and Select Narcotics Abuse and Control Committees

Alan Wheat (D-Mo.) elected 1982—Chairman, Subcommittee on Government Operations and Metropolitan Affairs of the Committee on the District of Columbia; member, Rules Committee and Select Committee on Children, Youth and Families

CBC *(Continued from page 7)*

Divided Loyalties

As members of the Caucus rise to higher levels of leadership, they are confronted with new challenges. For example, as committee chairs they must be evenhanded custodians of the legislative process and cannot ignore other congressmen on their panels from either party—otherwise they will not remain in their positions long. The dilemma for blacks who chair committees then is that they are often torn between their national responsibilities as House leaders and their allegiance to the Caucus and the interests of black America.

Gray, for example, has caused discomfort for some Caucus members by voting "present" rather than "yea" when the Caucus offers its annual alternative budget proposal on the House floor—as he did last April. "It's not a problem of race," Gray said at the time to the *Washington Post*. "It's a problem of what happens to any member of Congress who gets elevated to a position of leadership." Generally, Caucus members are prudent enough not to undermine the credibility and integrity of their black colleagues who chair committees.

Some black congressmen face the dilemma of divided loyalties even though they do not head a committee. When Congressman Walter Fauntroy fought against a congressional attempt to eliminate the District of Columbia's residency requirement for municipal employees, his Caucus colleague, Rep. Kweisi Mfume (D-Md.), did not stand with him. Instead, Mfume argued that some 10,000 of his constituents in Baltimore were in fact harmed by the law. In the end, Mfume angered many District of Columbia officials and residents as well as some Caucus members by voting against the residency law. Nevertheless, over the years, Caucus members have been able to privately iron out most of these potentially divisive disagreements, which is a tribute to the organization's maturity and resilience.

Despite rumors about numerous heated debates in Caucus meetings, especially those on foreign policy and budget issues, Caucus members appear to be remarkably similar in their philosophies and progressive voting patterns. They score high ratings in analyses of their voting records conducted by the liberal Americans for Democratic Action and the Leadership Conference for Civil Rights. Predictably, the conservative Americans for Consitutional Action Research Institute and the American Conservative Union give all the Caucus members low scores.

The Future of the Caucus

The Caucus has come a long way since its formative years. Clearly, the organization is no longer an outsider group but a force in Congress to be reckoned with. Even so, because blacks are grossly outnumbered on Capitol Hill, the Caucus must continue to work in tandem with white, Hispanic, and Asian American House and Senate colleagues to expand its influence.

The future expansion of the Caucus itself is, in part, in the hands of non-black voters. At present, there are only 16 majority-black congressional districts in the nation. With the almost certain election of Donald Payne in New Jersey this November, all but one of these 16 districts (New Orleans) will be represented by blacks. A few more majority-black congressional districts will probably be created after redistricting in 1992. Nevertheless, it is clear that for the Caucus to grow, more non-blacks must begin to vote for black congressional candidates, as they did in the case of Reps. Dellums and Alan Wheat, whose districts are more than 75 percent white.

The results of 1988 campaigns by black congressional candidates in majority-white districts such as in Ohio and Louisiana may be instructive. These races may offer some clues as to just what the future prospects are for the Congressional Black Caucus to expand its membership and influence on Capitol Hill. ■

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